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NOTES ON SHOSHONEAN ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

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NOTES ON SHOSHONEAN ETHNOGRAPHY

By Robert H. Lowie

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INTRODUCTION.

Although the Plateau Shoshoneans and their next of kin have been studied by Major Powell, H. H. St. Clair, Edward Sapir, A. L. Kroeber, J. A. Mason and the present writer, the sum total of published information is extremely scanty, especially as to aspects of their non-material culture. Hence the notes taken among the several groups are here collected under convenient headings and relevant passages from earlier observers are incorporated where it seemed desirable. The folk-tales and myths will be published separately.

The groups visited include the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute; the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Fallon, and Lovelocks, Nevada; the Ute of Navaho Springs, of Ignacio, Colorado, and of Whiterocks, Utah; and the Wind River Shoshoni of Wyoming. Linguistically these four tribes represent three of Kroeber's subdivisions of the Shoshonean stock: the Paiute and Ute belonging to the Ute-Chemehuevi group, the Paviotso to the Mono-Paviotso, the Shoshoni to the Shoshoni-Comanche. According to my Paiute informants, Ute is sufficiently close to their language to be intelligible.

With a view to future field-work the following recommendations are made, based on my experiences in the field and conversations with other students.

From the point of view of getting Museum material it is very improbable that much in the way of showy specimens can henceforth be obtained. On the other hand, a great deal of worth-while material could still be collected from most points, especially good models where originals are no longer available.

For scientific study all the groups present certain practical difficulties, except the Wind River Shoshoni. The Shoshoneans in general are extremely reticent about divulging ethnographical information, and in the case of the Northern Ute this sentiment is intensified by a feeling of hostility against whites generally. Interpreters are almost everywhere of an inferior character and getting connected accounts from informants is frequently impossible, every query being answered in the most laconic fashion possible. As to fees, the Ute at Ignacio and the Uintah Reservation were found exorbitant in their demands; other Shoshoneans moderate.

Since Dr. Sapir has notes on the Kanab Paiute, a long stay with this subdivision may be unnecessary. However, the Shivwits (near Santa Clara, to be reached from Lund, Utah, on the Salt Lake Route, via St. George) and the Moapa of Moapa, Nevada, should be revisited for

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further study. At Las Vegas, and other towns in southern Nevada, it may also be possible to get additional information on the Paiute.

Of the Ute, the Navaho Springs group, thirty-eight miles from Mancos, Colorado, seems to me by far the most promising. In 1912 they were so little touched by civilization that I had to leave after a short stay for lack of any even half-way acceptable interpreter. The enforced schooling of the children must in the meantime have created a more favorable situation from this point of view. I got the impression that these Ute were far less grasping than their congeners in Ignacio and Whiterocks.

[131] The Paviotso are sprinkled over dozens of places in Nevada. The Walker River Indians and those in neighboring towns ought to be studied and the Pyramid Lake Reservation should be revisited. Professor Kroeber does not consider the Oregon Paviotso worth while in their present condition. The Paviotso are not hostile but generally far from communicative, and while a great many have a smattering of English few have a good command of the language.

It is highly desirable to investigate the Ft. Hall Shoshoni, on whose reservation the Lemhi also are now residing. The Duck River Valley Reservation is unfortunately so difficult of access that it is a question whether it is worth while visiting the mixture of Shoshoni and Paviotso reported there; the nearest railroad point is probably Elko, Nevada.

TRIBAL RELATIONS AND SUBDIVISIONS.

The Paiute of Moapa gave nŏwu'^{u} as a generic term for all the Paiute and enumerated the following four main divisions:— 000

1. Mu+ápŏts^{ŏ}; from the head of the Muddy River to the other side of the railroad station at Moapa, Nevada.
2. Tandŭ'waite^{a}; from Moapa to Las Vegas.
3. Tŏ'intesà+^{a}; from Moapa to Caliente.
4. Suwŭ'ntsu; the St. George Indians (see below).

The Shivwits give a somewhat different list, accentuating the local divisions in their own locality:—

1. Sŭ'nŭts; the Shivwits, referred to as St. George Indians at Moapa, with an agency at Shem, near the post-office of Santa Clara, Utah.
2. Qanâs^{i}; the Kanab of southwestern Utah.
3. Grass Valley Paiute.
4. Cedar City Paiute.
5. Moapa Paiute.
6. Qónto'qait; in the mountains.

A second Shivwits informant gives as the generic name for Paiute "nŏwántsun^{wa}" and enumerates the following bands:—

1. ^{ma}'tŭ'sats; they used to live near Panaka, from Enterprise, Utah, northward, but only Alice and three others survive.
2. Mo'ápa, formerly known as Paránŏ, Put-foot-into-the-water; they lived near their present territory, Moapa, Nevada.
3. Qainánite; the people of Moccasin, Arizona.
4. Yŭ+ita; not really Ute, living round Cedar City, to the number of twenty-five or thirty.
5. Qanâac; northeast of Milford, Utah.
6. Sŭnŭ'ts; south of their reservation, on both sides of the Colorado.

Linguistically, as already explained, the Paiute belong with the Ute, but, according to the Shivwits, they never came into contact with the Uintah in the old days, and this was likewise asserted with reference to the Navajo. On the other hand, a Moapa informant said that the Navajo were sometimes seen at St. George and had been in the Paiute country a long time ago. Of the Mŭ'qwits—meaning evidently the Hopi—the Paiute merely knew by report. The Shivwits occasionally fought with the Walapai in the old days; in recent years the latter have visited the Moapa. Some "Shoshoni" from about Reno, i.e., doubtless Paviotso, sometimes came down to the Moapa. My Moapa interpreter has seen Mohave at Needles, but it is not certain that there was contact between these two peoples at an earlier period.

The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake regard the Shoshoni as their best friends. They did not fight with the Washo, but neither did they enter- 648

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648 tain any friendly relations with them. Their principal enemies were the Pitt River Indians, who used to live about Stillwater, but were driven out to California by the Paviotso. There is a tradition of the Paviotso killing the Pitt River near Honey Lake. Sometimes they would come, however, to attack the Paviotso. Horses and guns were first obtained by the Paviotso from the 'Forty-niners emigrating to California

[173] [721]

000 The Ignacio Ute gave the following as the names of their old bands:—

1. Mŏwátsi; about Cimarron, Colorado.
2. Kapûta+u; the people near the present Ignacio Agency.
3. Wímnenutci; the Navajo Springs Indians.
4. Paiyútsi; the "Paiute" near Navajo Springs, but on the Utah side.
5. Tŏwútsi Paiyútsi; genuine Paiute in Nevada.
6. Yapárka+h; Wild-carrot Eaters, the Uintah Ute.
7. Mŏwátawiwàdziu; Ouray Ute.
8. Tâvi-wàdziu; those formerly west of Denver.
9. Pagûwadziu; west of the Uintah.

Of these the Mŏwátsi correspond to the Moache of the *Handbook*; the Kapûta+u to the Capote; the Wímenutci to the Wiminuche, the Yapárka+u to the Yampa; the Tâvíwàdziu presumably to the Tabeguache. The inclusion of the Paiute is intelligible on linguistic grounds.

The Ute were a warlike people and fought various neighboring tribes, including the Navajo, Kiowa, Arapaho, Comanche and Shoshoni.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni spoke of having once been together with the Comanche. They also traveled and intermarried with the Bannock. When my informant was a small boy his people were in the Fort Bridger country and then the Shoshoni split up into the Idaho and Wyoming branches. (Of course Shoshoni groups had been in Idaho long before this, as proved by Lewis and Clark's narrative.) The fact that Washakie is regarded as half Flathead indicates that the Wind River no less than the Lemhi came into contact with Salish tribes. The Arapaho were considered the principal enemies; in lesser degree the Crow, Dakota, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre. The French (Yúhundaibo) were the first whites encountered; the Shoshoni obtained a few colts from them in exchange for buffalo hides and also got flintlocks from them. The Spaniards (Tóyaraibo) came later when the Shoshoni already had possession of firearms. The subdivisions of the Shoshoni have been given in a previous publication.[2]

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[1] Cf. Stansbury, 232; Kroeber, (a), 8; Reed, 53 et passim.
[2] Lowie, 205.

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ECONOMIC LIFE.

With an exception to be noted presently the Plateau Shoshoneans did not cultivate the soil. Nevertheless they were largely dependent on vegetable food, which, as Chamberlin has pointed out for the Gosiute south and west of Great Salt Lake, even took precedence of meat diet.[1] His remarks have indeed a much wider application, for with the exception of the Shoshoni and the Ute these tribes did relatively little hunting of large animals, and even the Lemhi were largely vegetarians and did not disdain such small game as grasshoppers and ants. Probably all the tribes depended in some measure on small animals, thus the Moapa mention the use of rats, lizards, and turtles. The wretched existence of one of the poorer groups, presumably encountered somewhere in Utah, is thus graphically pictured by Father De Smet:—

> The principal portion of the Soshoco territory is covered with wormwood, and other species of artemisia, in which the grasshoppers swarm by myriads; these parts are consequently most frequented by this tribe. When they are sufficiently numerous, they hunt together. They begin by digging a hole, ten or twelve feet in diameter by four or five deep; then, armed with long branches of artemisia, they surround a field of four or five acres, more or less, according to the number of persons who are engaged in it. They stand about twenty feet apart, and their whole work is to beat the ground, so as to frighten up the grasshoppers and make them bound forward. They chase them toward the center by degrees—that is, into the hole prepared for their reception. Their number is so considerable that frequently three or four acres furnish grasshoppers sufficient to fill the reservoir or hole.
>
> The Soshocos stay in that place as long as this sort of provision lasts. They, as well as other mortals, have their tastes. Some eat the grasshoppers in soup, or boiled; others crush them and make a kind of paste from them, which they dry in the sun or before the fire; others eat them *en appalas*—that is, they take pointed rods and string the largest ones on them; afterward these rods are fixed in the ground before the fire, and, as they become roasted, the poor Soshocos regale themselves until the whole are devoured.
>
> As they rove from place to place, they sometimes meet with a few rabbits, and take some grouse, but seldom kill deer or other large animals.[2]

Hunting and Fishing.

The Paiute hunted mountain sheep and deer, the latter being apparently more common in the Kaibab region. Dogs were used to hunt the larger game. Wögö'hûwa, a Tö'+intesà+ü seen at Moapa, recollected tracking a mountain sheep for three or four days without anything to eat. He would use its cleaned-out paunch as a water bag. After killing it he

[1] Chamberlin, 335.
[2] De Smet, vol. 3, 1033.

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would carry it home on his back by means of a rope made of *wu'ō'is*[1] weed. Sometimes three or four men formed a party for hunting mountain sheep, one of them scaring the quarry toward the rest. All who participated were entitled to a share. The long sinews from the backbone were taken for thread to sew moccasins, and the skins were made into women's dresses. Some hunters would hide near the watering-place and kill the mountain sheep when they came there to drink. When the weather was hot it sometimes happened that hunters perished from thirst.

The rabbit undoubtedly played a prominent part in the bill of fare. The importance attached to its chase is indicated by the fact that as among the Washo a special functionary existed to superintend the proceedings.[1] Among the Shivwits he would call out to the men to get ready for the hunt and took the lead, stationing the men about a quarter of a mile from camp, where a big fire was built. Nets were put up in a wide circle, and the rabbits would get entangled so as not to be able to disengage themselves. Then there would be a great deal of excitement with yelling and whooping. Sometimes they would hit rabbits with arrows; some had no nets. This process of snaring was repeated every day. Some men killed as many as ten or fifteen a day, others only one rabbit. Each day they would hunt in a different direction. This communal hunt with its concomitant social organization was characteristic of the winter time when all the Shivwits came together. Apart from the rabbit chase the authority of the "rabbit boss" was nil, and after hunting together the several Shivwits families would separate. The bones of the rabbits were not thrown away but pounded very fine and thus eaten with the meat. From rabbit skins the Indians made blankets.

In the old days the Shivwits did not use the rabbit stick at all. Sometimes a man would go out hunting by himself with a long pole, which he would insert into the rabbit hole and twist round, thereupon pulling out his victim.

The rabbit hunt was probably an important communal undertaking of all the Paiute groups. Powell writes:—

> They get many rabbits, sometimes with arrows, sometimes with nets. They make a net of twine, made of the fibers of a native flax. Sometimes this is made a hundred yards in length, and is placed in a half circular position, with wings of sagebrush. They have a circle hunt, and drive great numbers of rabbits into the snare, when they are shot with arrows.[2]

According to Wōgō'hūwa the net was of *wu'ō'is*[1] twine and was larger for jack-rabbits than for cottontails. Some ten or fifteen people

[1] Barrett, (b), 12.
[2] Powell, 127 f.

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would drive the rabbits while four or five tended the net. They would catch thirty or forty a day. 000

Rabbits were cooked in hot ashes. Dellenbaugh writes:—

> Dexterously stripping off the skins they slit open the abdomen, removed the entrails, and, after squeezing out the contents by drawing between thumb and fingers, they replaced the interminable string in the cavity, closing the aperture with the ears, and stowed the carcass in the hot ashes for a few minutes.[1]

The Paviotso had a communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven (see section on "Ceremonies and Dances"), and also communal duck, mud-hen, and rabbit hunts. Individual hunters stalked deer and antelope; they approached the game wearing a deer or antelope head with the antlers and mimicking the actions of their victims. This practice is called *tü'hü-itaqwd*. In this way it was possible to sneak up close to the herd, and shoot an animal, which was then pursued till it fell down. A strong man might also run down an antelope by tracking it for one or two days before shooting at all. The antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley. 224

The duck and mud-hen hunting was executed under the leadership of two head men. One of them would tell the people: "On such and such a day each of you shall make a tule boat for himself. The next day you shall make arrows. Two days after finishing the arrows you shall start." They would go on the water about daylight, led by one of the head men. There might be as many as thirty or more men in the party. They were led through the tule rushes out on the lake, where ducks and mud-hens were sighted. The hens would try to hide. Then they would divide into two parties, each led by one head man, and surround the flocks. When they had shot enough, they went home. That evening the head men told them to come again in two days for another hunt. They would scare the ducks from a small into a big lake. Then the head man said, "In three days from now we will go close and camp there. We'll start early." Then they would go through the tule on their rafts, sometimes driving the ducks out on dry land. Ducks were also caught in nets (*pühü'kwana*) stretched between long sticks stuck into the water. From a Fallon informant I obtained two canvas-back decoys (Fig. 1), the birdskins of which were fitted over a tule body. 223 624 [501]

The rabbit-hunt is likewise under the direction of a special manager; at Fallon the office is filled by Billy Springer. Usually the Paviotso of Wadsworth, Walker River, and other localities are invited to participate. The visitors stay with the Fallon people as long as the hunt lasts—say 224 624

[1] Dellenbaugh, 252.

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224 ten or fifteen days—then return home after drying the meat. November
624 is the proper time. When Springer was a boy nets were still in vogue, but nowadays only guns are used. There is no general distribution of the
[462] spoils; everyone takes his own kill and saves the hides therefrom. The women go along to cook, taking the children along. The men do not return to camp for a midday meal, but only at sundown since they have to go a considerable distance.

223

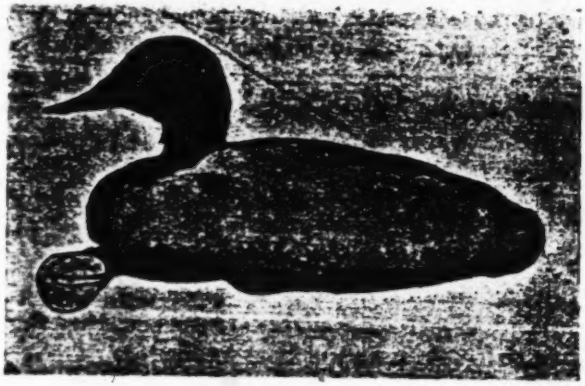

Fig. 1 (50.1–7934). Canvas-back Decoy, Birdskin over Tule Body, Paviotso.

224 In the old days a fire was first made every morning of the hunt and
624 all the men would gather there to get instructions from the head man of the hunt. Practically everyone then had a net. They would stretch the nets, several next to one another. The head man bade the people start in two directions and later come together. A rectangle of nets was made six times a day, three times on the way from home and as many times on the return trip. The men took positions in one horizontal line inside the nets and nearest the fire, then proceeded toward the opposite side. Some rabbits would run counter to the line of the advancing hunters but only ran into the nets, whereupon the owner of such nets seized his catch. Other rabbits were dispatched with arrows as they ran past the line of hunters. The line of nets perpendicular to the line of hunters was longer than theirs. One informant said this communal hunt was kept up for a month.

000 The Gosiute practised a communal hunt for both antelope and rabbits, driving the game through a V-shaped enclosure and killing their victims at the apex. Deer and antelope were also driven down precipices.[1]

[1] Chamberlin, 335 f.

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As would be expected from their location, the Ute shared the traits of the Plains as well as the Plateau Indians in their economic activities. They hunted buffalo and elk as well as deer and rabbits. The practice of eagle-catching in pits by the Uintah may perhaps also be mentioned in this connection as a typical Plains feature. Large game was killed in the late fall or winter. Deer were driven to a deep pit between the converging arms of a sagebrush enclosure; this was done near the site of Fort Duchesne. Buffalo (*gutc*) were pursued on fast horses and the kill divided into small pieces. Rabbits were hunted communally; the Uintah used nets, made from bark fiber, but the White River band (according to Little Jim) did not. Sometimes jack-rabbits were hunted on horseback. If the rabbits were in the thick brush the Ute would set fire to the brush and kill the rabbits, which then ran out of their hiding-place.

The Shoshoni likewise display a mingling of Plains and Plateau traits. In the winter buffalo were pursued on snowshoes (*dzink*") of large oval shape made by the men; the animals were run into deep snow from which they could not extricate themselves. Before the people had horses they would surround a herd and close in on them; the buffalo very rarely attempted to break through, but merely would go round and round within the circle. When a man crawled up to a herd alone, he hardly ever got more than one animal. After horses were obtained the surround was no longer necessary. My informant never heard of running buffalo down a cutbank. Mountain-sheep were pursued with, say, four dogs, which chased the animals till they were exhausted and brought to bay on a rock. In pursuing antelope a hunter covered himself with an antelope head with the horns; when he caught sight of his quarry he imitated a grazing antelope and thus sneaked up to the animals till he was able to shoot one or two.

The Wind River Shoshoni deny having eaten roasted ants, but they did not scorn small game. Ground-hogs were driven out of their holes with a very sharp barbed stick. A trap was used for a species of squirrel, so that the animal nibbling at the bait would pull down a big rock on itself. Rabbits would sometimes run into a rotten log. Then the hunter plugged up the hole with sagebrush and started a fire, fanning the smoke into the log. After a while the victim attempted to get out, but was prevented by the plug. When it stopped squealing, the hole was uncovered and the dead rabbit was pulled out. Hunters also hung snares of tough bark fiber from trees and scared the rabbits into the nooses.

While I find no reference in either my notes or the earlier writers to the eating of fish by the Paiute, other Shoshoneans made extensive use of this article of diet.

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000 The construction of willow weirs in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake was noted by Stansbury[1] and this custom was also described by one of my Uintah informants. The Ute, he said, would stand in the water, catch the fish by the tail as it entered the fence and move their hands up to its head. It would struggle and sometimes make its escape, otherwise they hit it on the head with a stick and killed it. Sometimes the fish were thrown out by men to the women, who would split them in two, remove the bones, and hang the fish up on a frame for drying. The dried fish were stored in caches and eaten in the fall. Fish were also cut into pieces and boiled in earthen vessels. They were shot with barbed arrows, the hunters at times pursuing them on grass rafts. An Indian of the White River band said that though this was a Uintah custom, no such rafts were used by the White River people.

226 The Paviotso fished extensively, catching mountain trout in Pyramid and Muddy Lakes, and other species in other localities such as the Humboldt River, which were dried for winter use.[2]

000 Wilson repeatedly refers to fishing by the Shoshoni and specifically mentions trout and salmon. He describes women and children fishing through the ice of Jefferson River and tells how he himself would angle with a line made from horse-tail hair.[3]

Vegetable Food.

Agriculture was wholly lacking among the Plateau Shoshoneans, excepting only the Paiute; and even in this tribe it was confined to the Shivwits and Kaibab bands. The Moapa distinctly denied having raised corn before the coming of the whites. From the Shivwits the following brief account was obtained. The Indians planted both corn (*tʰaiwū'ᵃ*) and squashes (*pánaⁿárᵊ*) before white contact. Irrigation was employed. Ditches were dug with an implement called *pasᵊdū'ᵊ*, which was shaped with a sharp rock. Along the Colorado River driftwood furnished the material, elsewhere a species of willow or the mesquite. The ground was watered from the spring before planting the seeds. When the water had not quite dried up, the men dug holes with a sharp-pointed stick (*aγδ'ᵊ*); while the women inserted the seeds. The earth was removed and later heaped up with the hands. When the plants came up, a second irrigation was customary. One corncob was used to shell another, and the seeds were ground on a metate (*maᵊ*).

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[1] Stansbury, 148.
[2] Hopkins, 11, 13, 76.
[3] Wilson, 20, 33, 62, 63.

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It is more than probable that even among the corn-planting Paiute life depended mainly on seed-gathering and hunting, as among the other Plateau Shoshoneans.

A full discussion of Gosiute ethno-botany has been given by Chamberlin in a paper already cited. My own relatively meager data on that of other Shoshoneans follow.

The Moapa gathered various seeds growing round the mountains and prepared them for the winter. Among these were sunflower seeds. When the mesquite ripened the people would come down from the mountains and dry them for the winter. At present cassava melons and watermelons are extensively planted. Pine-nuts were and are used to a considerable extent. Practically all the Moapa left for a pine-nutting expedition in the middle of September, 1915, and did not expect to return before some time in October. When I arrived among the Shivwits in the second half of September, they, too, had departed to gather pifion nuts and though some returned after a short time they were preparing to go out again for the same purpose. Of the Kaibab Powell writes as follows:—

> They gather the seeds of many plants, as sunflowers, golden rods, and grasses. For this purpose they have large conical baskets which hold two or more bushels. The women carry them on their backs, suspended from their foreheads by broad straps, and with a smaller one in the left hand, and a willow-woven fan in the right, they walk among the grasses, and sweep the seed into the smaller basket, which is emptied now and then into the larger, until it is full of seeds and chaff; then they winnow out the chaff and roast the seeds. They roast these curiously; they put the seeds, with a quantity of red hot coals, into a willow tray, and, by rapidly and dexterously shaking and tossing them, keep the coals aglow, and the seeds and tray from burning. As if by magic, so skilled are the crones in this work they roll the seeds to one side of the tray, as they are roasted, and the coals to the other.[1] (There follows the description of grinding the seeds on a metate, for which see below.)

The Ute likewise depended partly on vegetable food. In August 1849, Stansbury encountered a group of naked Indian women and girls gathering grass-seeds in the valley of Ogden's Creek for their winter provisions, "with their baskets dangling at their backs." At an abandoned campsite on the Great Salt Lake the same observer found "a quantity of some species of seeds which they had been beating out," and the grinding of seeds into a kind of flour between two flat stones is noted in another connection.[2] A Whiterocks informant explained that formerly old women would go up the mountains in quest of berries, taking along willow baskets with a burden strap. The women would reach

[1] Powell, 126 f.; Spier found an identical method among the Havasupai.
[2] Stansbury, 82, 103, 148.

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000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches. Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'ès*, was likewise pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
[412] In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
[415] putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
[252] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds
[251] were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled. Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs: *t'ūʙá*, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qōgí*, wild carrot; *múə*, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ü''ūts*, little onions; *ā́ʙi*; *a'qō'*; *kusíək'*; *qōγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+j*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*; *wára*; *tubū́s*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement. The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tūʙá-qwana* or *tü'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 75; Lowie, 205.
[2] Barrett, (b), 15.

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pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and seeds.

The *ăsi'* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on metates (*wi'kwă*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* seeds, which in flour form are called *wattă*. The *wăi"* seeds grow in the mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray (*tŭm*^{a}) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk either cold or boiled. The *ats'ă* seeds grow in the valley. They are not shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *ăsúdz* seeds prepared for me. The metate rested on a *tü'm*^{a} tray. The seeds were rubbed with a sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tü'm*^{a} together with the dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed, and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wic'* root was pounded up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

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METATES.

000 The Shoshoneans of Utah and Nevada employ the metate to reduce their seeds to meal.

Among the Paiute of Moapa the metate (*mār*) is used only on one side: the muller is called *mû'ə* (Fig. 3). Powell writes as follows about the Kaibab method:—

> . . . they grind the seeds into a fine flour, and make it into cakes and mush. . . For a mill, they use a large flat rock, lying on the ground, and another small cylindrical one in their hands. They sit prone on the ground, hold the flat rock between the feet and legs, then fill their laps with seeds, making a hopper to the mill with their dusky legs, and grind by pushing the seeds across the larger rock, where it drops into a tray. I have seen a group of women grinding together, keeping time to a chant, or gossiping and chatting, while the younger lassies would jest and chatter, and make the pine woods merry with their laughter.[1]

412

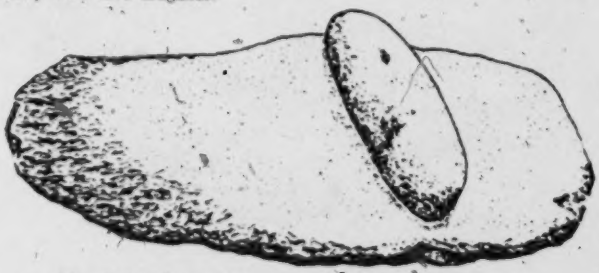

Fig. 2 (30.1-7909,7907). Paviotso Metate and Muller.

000 At Whiterocks, Utah, I saw three or four metates in my interpreter's house. They differed from those of the Paviotso in being trough-like, with two or three of the edges rimmed. They had been dug up in ploughing and were used by the Ute women for grinding coffee. I also saw a smooth slab metate, on which ripe *qō* seeds were said to be ground. My informants said that the flat and the rimmed metates were used in the same manner.

412 252 Among the Paviotso the metate (*matq*^{a}) was still in constant use in every encampment in the summer of 1914 (Fig. 2). Thus I saw a woman grinding *qōŋá* seeds on a slab, scrape off the meal with her fingers, and put it into a tin can. Here I observed what I could discover among no other Shoshonean group,—a difference in the use of the two sides of the metate. In loosening the shells of certain seeds the women allow the slab to rest on a basketry tray (*tūm*$^{'b}$) and give the stone separator

[1] Powell, 127.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 215]

[p.205]

000

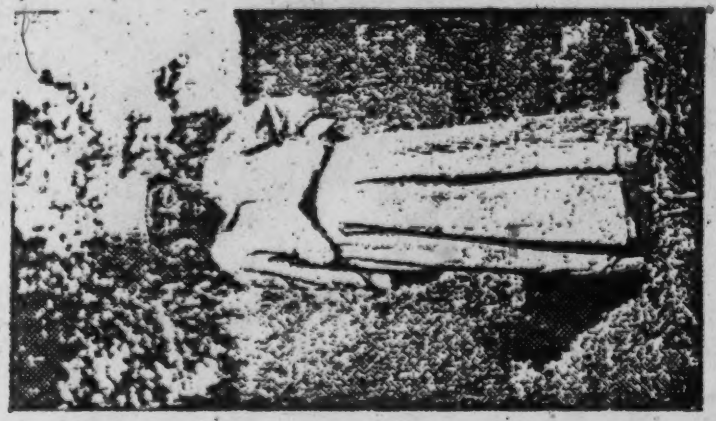

Fig. 4.

Fig. 3. Mesqa Woman with Metate and Muller.
Fig. 4. Mesqa Woman wearing Basket Hat.

Fig. 3.

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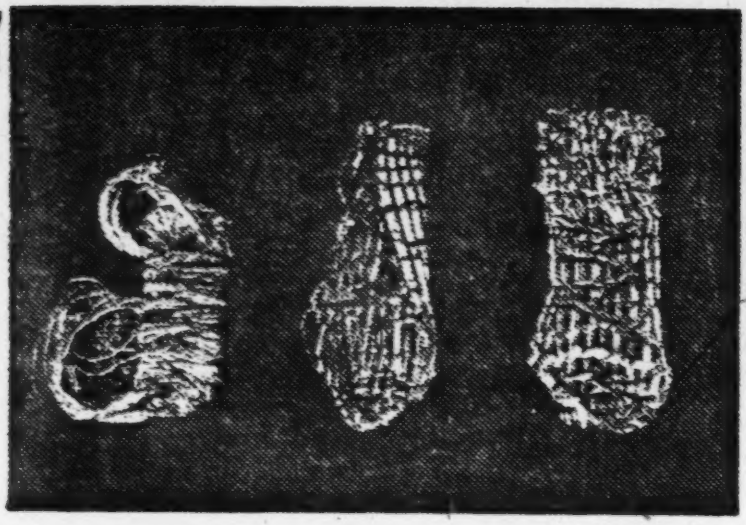

Fig. 5.

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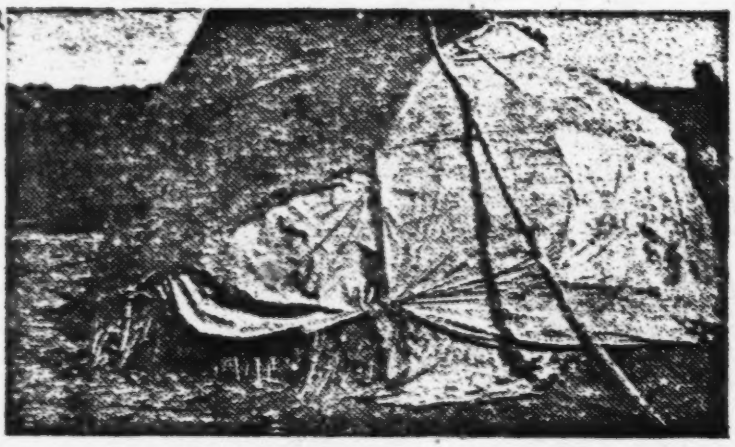

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5 *a-c* (50.1–8639a, 7966, 7965). Sandals. *a*, Shivwits; *b*, *c*, Paviotso.
Fig. 6. Tule Lodge of Pyramid Lake Paviotso, with Canvas Covering.

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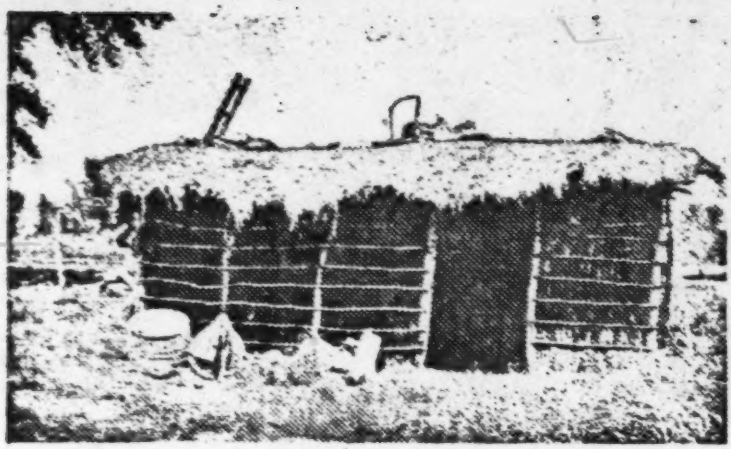

a

b

Fig. 7. a, Moapa House of Mohave Pattern; b. Navaho Springs Ute Shade with Tipi in Background.

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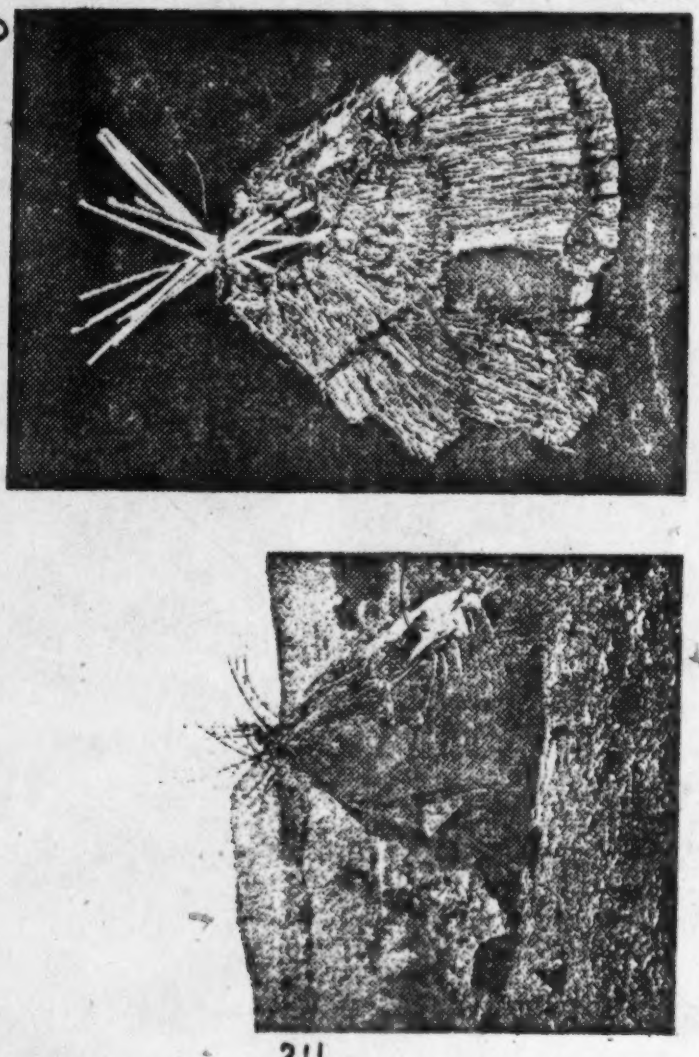

Fig. 8. a, Shivwits Shelter; b, Model of Wind River Grass Lodge.

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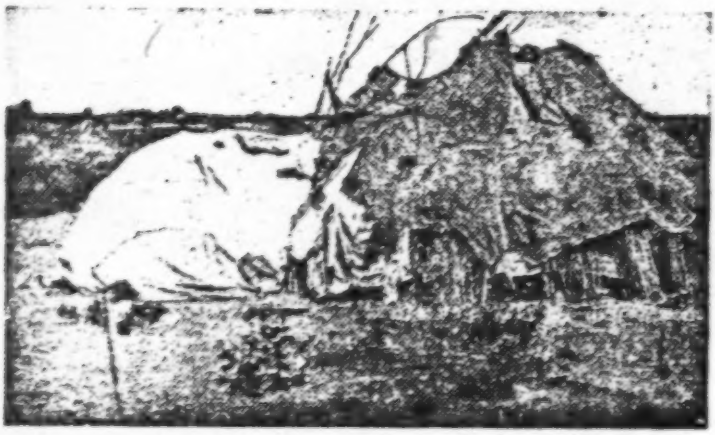
a



b

Fig. 9. Types of Paviotso Shelter. a, Paviotso Shelter, Fallon, Nevada; b, Shelter used by old Paviotso Women in Fallon, Nevada.

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(wiowdn[a]) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

Tobacco.

It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púiba'*[Pa]. It is a weed growing several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà*[a]. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsíabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawá·γoàp'*, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

Dogs.

Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

[a] Cf. Lowie, 212–214.
[1] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.
[2] See Lowie, 212 f.
[3] Chamberlin, 345.

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animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.[1]

The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

Dress.

The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."[2] But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."[3] A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *ump*[4]. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.[4]

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 185.
[2] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[3] Powell, 104; cf. *ibid.*, 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.
[4] Reed, 40.

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hats. At Whiterocks I noted a young girl whose forehead was decorated with a circle painted in the middle. At Navaho Springs most of the men and some of the women had plucked out their eyebrows.

The Paviotso also had rabbitskin capes for winter wear. They were very warm and lasted three or even four winters. Otherwise their main use was as a cover when sleeping. The men's costume consisted of a buckskin breechclout and fringed leggings secured with a buckskin cord. In the old days badger skin caps were occasionally worn. The woman's dress was of antelope skin and reached down just below the knees. Women did not wear leggings but exposed the leg between footgear and dress; they had basket hats. For babies blankets of sagebrush bark were made, and a boy's leggings were manufactured from deer and coyote hide. The Paviotso used a porcupine tail for a comb, also the dried and doubled roots of wild rye.

The Wind River Shoshoni women wore buckskin dresses decorated with elk teeth but not with beadwork. The cut of the dresses was like that of the cloth ones worn nowadays. Some were decorated all over with elk teeth in front. Leggings were of buckskin and distinct from the moccasins. Generally speaking, the Plains Indian style prevailed among both sexes.

Formerly young Shoshoni men who were courting girls used to pluck out their eyebrows. Among the Comanche I noticed that practically all the men were without eyebrows and at least to some extent the practice extends to the female sex.

The hair was parted by some Shoshoni men on the side, by others in the middle. It was not braided but hung down loose as a rule. Once in a while it was braided and wrapped on the side, but this was rare. In the early days there was a bang in the center, curled on a stick. They never wore a big braid in the back, but all had a little braid so that a feather or other ornament could be tied to it. Wawanabidi (1912) had his hair unparted but brushed up pompadour fashion in the center and with braids on the sides. The women parted their hair and left it loose; they never braided it as today. The parting line was painted red and still is. Old women with gray hair would paint it red. A peaked boy's cap of muskrat skin with two rabbit's tails for tassels is described by Wilson.[1]

The Moapa had deerskin moccasins if rich, while poor people wore josseed (*tsowáramp'*) sandals. What the sandals (*úwûp*) were like among the Paiute was determined at Shem, where a model pair was

[1] Wilson, 35.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

000 secured (Fig. 5a). The two strings pass, each on one side of the second (next to the big) toe, are crossed over the toe and then pulled through the rear loop, against which the heel rests. They were tied in front on the instep. Sandals were worn on snow. Both men and women used them. Another Shivwits informant said that sandals were worn both winter and summer. They were made of the leaves of *ū'ʼs*, a plant identified by Powell as the yucca or Spanish bayonet.[1] In the winter a kind of bark called *cūnáp* was tied on the sandals across the foot by means of loops. Sandals wore out more rapidly than moccasins: if a man put them on in the morning and chased mountain sheep they were worn out in the evening on account of the many rocky places trodden. Otherwise they lasted somewhat longer.

While the Moapa and Kaibab Paiute had deerskin moccasins, the Shivwits say they made theirs exclusively of mountain-sheep skin.

The Ute wore hard-soled buckskin moccasins (of Plains Indian style).

291 237 [824] The Paviotso wore deerskin moccasins in the summer. Skin from the tough neck of the deer was taken for the sole. Badgerskin with the hairy side in was used for winter moccasins. Softened sagebrush bark was put inside to keep the feet warm. According to one informant, only the sole was of badger hide, the uppers of buckskin. I saw a pair of woman's moccasins with a cowhide sole, deerhide uppers, and an inverted U-shaped piece in front, crenate at the top: the seam was in the back. Models of tule sandals in openwork twining were obtained for the Museum (Fig. 5bc).

000 Wind River Shoshoni moccasins were formerly all of buckskin; the Arapaho introduced the custom of having hard soles.

Dwellings.

In the summer the Moapa and the Tö'+intesà+u bands used a shade of rectangular groundplan called *hawáγan'*. The walls were formed of brush on three sides and the sloping roof was covered with the same material. The winter lodge differed inasmuch as the Tö'+intesà+u had cedar houses (*moγáqan'*),—conical structures with a framework of cedar trees tied together at the top and a covering of cedarbark thick enough to keep out the rain; pieces of bark were tied together with cord. Possibly this very imperfect description was meant for the slab-house type reported by Dr. Barrett from the Washo.[2] There was a fireplace in the

[1] Powell, 126.
[2] Barrett, (b), 10, pl. II.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

center and a smoke-hole above it. The Moapa lacked cedars; accordingly they substituted a framework of the same conical shape but consisting of any long poles, e.g. willows, and used dry *sawáp*[6] brush for a covering. The height of these lodges was greater than a man's stature. The entrance faced away from the wind and was so low that one would stoop in entering. Though people lived near to one another, no special arrangement was followed; the houses were scattered without any plan but all faced in the same direction. Here, too, the fireplace was in the middle; the husband and wife slept on either side of the door, unmarried members of the household in the rest of the available space. The Shivwits used the cedar lodge throughout the year. The Mohave type of summer house,[1] which Doctor Spier also observed among the Havasupai, was noted once and is shown in Fig. 7a; it was inhabited by my principal Moapa informant and his wife. An approximation to the Paiute pattern is illustrated by the Shivwits hut in Fig. 8a.

Fortunately our ideas of the Paiute houses are somewhat clarified by Dellenbaugh and Powell. Speaking of the Kaibab band, Dellenbaugh writes:—

> Their wickiups, about seven feet high, were merely a lot of cedar boughs, set around a three-quarter circle, forming a conical shelter, the opening towards the south. In front they had their fire, with a mealing-stone or two, and round about were their conical and other baskets, used for collecting grass seeds, piñon nuts, and similar vegetable food, which in addition to rabbits formed their principal subsistence.[2]

Powell illustrates a Paiute settlement (see his Fig. 43, facing p. 119). He says:—

> During the inclement season they live in shelters made of boughs, or bark of the cedar, which they strip off in long shreds. In this climate, most of the year is dry and warm, and during such time they do not care for shelter. Clearing a small circular space of ground, they bank it around with brush and sand, and wallow in it during the day, and huddle together in a heap at night, men, women, and children; buckskin, rags, and sand. They wear very little clothing, not needing much in this lovely climate.[3]

The Ute of Navaho Springs, Colorado, were in 1912 among the most wretched and primitive Indians I had seen. The majority were living in small tipis of Plains type, covered with canvas. Compared with the real Plains Indian tipis, however, they recalled the nickname of "Bad Lodges" given to the Ute by other tribes. Several of those particularly noted had a framework of eleven poles, with two additional ones for regulating the smoke hole. The length of some poles lying on

[1] Handbook, I, 921.
[2] Dellenbaugh, 177 f.
[3] Powell, 126.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

000 the ground proved to be about seventeen feet. Inquiry elicited the important fact that these tipis were uniformly erected on a *four*-pole foundation. Summer shades were also noted. The usual type is the brush-covered four-pole structure shown in Fig. 7b, with the tipi in the background. More substantial than any of these was the earth-covered dwelling of one Ute which was directly patterned on the Navajo hogan and was said to be unique. An Ignacio informant confirmed the statement that four poles were used as a foundation by the Southern Ute. Here reference was made to a conical bark-walled or brush-covered wikiup preceding the buffalo-skin tipi. Both at Ignacio and among the Uintah I was told that twelve poles were used for the tipi, including the two on the outside for regulating the smoke. A Uintah said that the poles were of pine wood, and either elkskins, sometimes to the number of ten, or buffalo skins were sewed together for the cover. When skins were lacking, a smaller cedarbark lodge of round shape was put up; the strips of bark were carried from a great distance. When some distance west of the Great Salt Lake Stansbury saw some conical lodges "of cedar poles and logs of considerable size, thatched with bark and branches," which were warm and comfortable. They were presumably the as yet unoccupied winter quarters of Indians then (toward the end of October) pine-nutting.[1] Passing through the Reservation I saw some conical lodges at Ouray differing from the tipi merely in having a cover of brush; these were said to have also been used in the old days for a summer habitation. The skin-covering of tipis was sometimes painted, but not with pictures. The door always faced east; the woman sat by the door, the husband in the rear, and visitors took up corresponding positions according to sex. The skin tipi is called *moγŏ'puqàn*; the bark lodge *moγo'qan*.

342 [354] The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake distinguish a tule lodge (*cathinòsi*, from *cathib°*, tule) and the old-style summer shade (*hunínosi, nánupia*), which faced the more permanent dwelling and had the form of a roofless semicircular brush shelter with a central fireplace. The modern shades are called *hāsá*. A large tule wikiup might accommodate as many as a dozen people. The poles were called *watákwama*, the tule shingles [462] *siwat°*. Men and women coöperated in putting up the wikiup, the former erecting the framework, the latter making and tying the tule shingles. 342 824 At Pyramid Lake I saw one tule lodge with an additional covering of canvas rags (Fig. 6) and had a model made, which differs somewhat in

[1] Stansbury, 111.

2; Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center and almost entirely open at the top."[1] The last part of the statement is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like.

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size (Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside.

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.[2] The Wind River people describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available. A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup.

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

[1] Mooney, 1049 f.
[2] Lowie, 183.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

interest in its bearing on the ultimate derivation of the Ute tipi. From the geographical location of the Ute we should be inclined to derive their specifically Plains Indian traits from the Cheyenne and Arapaho, but since the tipi of these peoples is of the three-pole pattern the assumption is untenable in this connection. On the other hand, if we knew that the Fort Hall and Lemhi Indians used the four-pole type, we should have a continuous distribution for this method from the Blackfoot and Crow southward to the Ute. The most plausible theory would then be that the Ute derived the tipi from the Wind River Indians, the Wind River from the Northern Shoshoni, and the latter in turn from their Blackfoot or Crow neighbors.

In Wilson's book there are reproduced pictures of Shoshoni lodges; the illustration of a brush-covered conical summer dwelling is especially noteworthy.[1]

Fire-Making.

From the Shivwits I secured a model firedrill (*mărunù+inump*) apparatus (Museum specimen 50.1-8646ab). The hearth (*ăx*) was formerly made from the wood of the *qwinúuramp* bush, which grows on the Colorado River, but for lack of this material *samăsiù−ù+ip* wood was substituted. Pits were made all along the hearth. The drill was of mesquite wood, which was also used for the model; unlike the Paviotso specimen to be described below, it consists of a simple shaft.

I did not get any account of the Ute firedrill. One old informant said he had never made fire with it though he had seen others do it. For tinder the Uintah employed the bark of the sagebrush or cedar. People would get fire from a person who had some, laying down a stick before him by way of remuneration. Later they obtained strike-a-lights from the Mexicans.

The Paviotso braided sagebrush bark into torches and also used it for tinder. Their drill (*goso''*) had the common Shoshonean characteristic of being composite (50.1-7962a).[2] Model specimens were secured. The standard apparatus was described as comprising a willow hearth with four pits (Fig. 10) and a drill of willow with a sagebrush tip. Doctor Spier calls my attention to the fact that a Havasupai specimen also has four pits. My interpreter naïvely supposed that it would take from half an hour to an hour to make fire with this apparatus. Sam Dick made a shaft of cane for me, stuffing it with charred greasewood as far as

[1] Wilson, 16, 19, 81, 114, 194.
[2] Lowie, 180.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

the first joint (Fig. 11). His and my interpreter's combined efforts did not quite succeed in producing fire (Fig. 12), but Austin who substituted a sagebrush hearth was even less successful. He said that an old soft hearth of sagebrush would have been better. His drill consisted of a willow shaft to which a nine-inch tip of sagebrush was lashed. Another informant described the tip as being only two or three inches in length.

The composite firedrill of the Wind River has already been described and illustrated in a previous publication.[1] Mr. Burnett, the farmer at

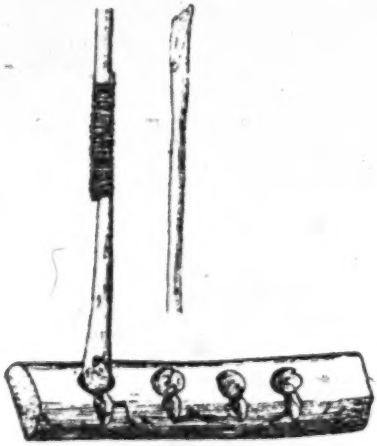

Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 10 (50.1-7961a, 7962b). Model of Paviotso Fire-making Apparatus, showing Composite Drill.

Fig. 11 (50.1-7962c). Cane Shaft for Firedrill, Paviotso.

Wind River Reservation, told me that Sacajawea had described the use of the bowdrill in connection with fire-making, and this was corroborated by Wawanabidi, who has heard of the Shoshoni using this device. Torches of sagebrush bark were used on the march. The bark was rubbed fine and pressed into one long bundle wrapped tight with bark from the tall sagebrush. One end was lighted in traveling, and the torch would continue to smoulder without either blazing up or going out. On reaching camp, the people would gather some dry material, the slow-match was put in and blown a little, and thus fire was produced. These torches would harbor fire for a long while.

[1] Lowie, 189.

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Fig. 12. Paviotso trying to make Fire.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Industries.

000 *Stone Technique.* On the stone work of the Plateau Shoshoneans the following statement by Powell merits being rescued from its recondite source:—

> The obsidian or other stone of which the implement is to be made is first selected by breaking up larger masses of the rock and choosing those which exhibit the fracture desired and which are free of flaws; then these pieces are baked or steamed, perhaps I might say annealed, by placing them in damp earth covered with a brisk fire for twenty-four hours, then with sharp blows they are still further broken into flakes approximating the shape and size desired. For the more complete fashioning of the implement a tool of horn, usually of the mountain sheep, but sometimes of the deer or antelope, is used. The flake of stone is held in one hand, placed on a little cushion made of untanned skin of some animal, to protect the hand from the flakes which are to be chipped off, and with a sudden pressure of the bone-tool the proper shape is given. They acquire great skill in this, and the art seems to be confined to but few persons, who manufacture them and exchange them for other articles.[1]

Pottery. There were significant differences among the Plateau Shoshoneans with regard to their knowledge of ceramic processes. Early travelers speak with tantalizing vagueness of earthen jars among the Lemhi and their neighbors, stone-boiling being also reported.[2] On the other hand, Wind River Shoshoni informants only mentioned man-made soapstone pots and the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake very definitely denied having ever made pots, saying that baskets were used for boiling food and pitched basketry bottles for storing and carrying water. However, Sarah Winnemucca notes the modeling in mud indulged in by children, who made herds of animals and then shot at them with bow and arrow.[3] The Paiute cooked in earthen kettles (*pambŏ'n*[a]) made of hard clay (*wida*[a]). According to one hardly convincing Moapa statement these used to be made by a *man* specializing in the art for the rest of his people. This is indeed contradicted by the Shivwits, who say their "mud buckets" (*pambŏ'ni*) were made by women, as we should expect. It proved impossible to have a pot made, but a brief description was given. The clay used was of a yellow color but became brownish-black on firing. Only two localities were believed to yield suitable material, one near the Colorado River and the other to the south of the Reservation on a mountain over which the Shivwits originally roamed, near the boundary line of Utah and Arizona. The coiled technique was employed and a piece of turtle shell served to smooth the vessels within and outside. They were pointed at the bottom so that they could be stuck into the

[323] [285] [252]

[1] Powell 27–28.
[2] Lowie, 177, 188.
[3] Hopkins, 87.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

ground. and a fire was built around them. All the pots were undecorated. After completing a vessel, a woman would fire it all night, then on the following morning if it were struck the sound heard would be like that of a metal kettle. The Ute also made earthenware containers. At Navajo Springs, Colorado, I was told that meat was formerly boiled in such vessels, being then served on basketry trays. On the Uinta River Powell found fragments of pottery[1] and Stansbury encountered similar remnants of the potter's art in the same general area.[2] Though Powell seems inclined to view these finds as vestiges of a higher civilization than that of the Ute, we may reasonably assign plain pieces of pottery found in this territory to the immediate predecessors of the historic Shoshonean occupants. Jim Duncan, a Uintah Ute, told me that among his people both stone-boiling with baskets and pot-boiling had been in vogue. The former method was repeatedly referred to by Ute informants. The pots were made by a few of the women and were purchased by the rest. Another informant from the same Reservation mentioned the fact that black earthenware vessels with decorated rim were dug up from time to time in the vicinity. Thus, the Ute, Paiute and (if early accounts may be trusted) the Northern Shoshoni made pottery, while the Wind River Shoshoni and Paviotso did not.

Specimens of Shoshonean pottery are to be seen in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

Preparation of Skins. The Moapa Paiute remove the hair with the bone or rib of a mountain sheep. They rub the brains on the flesh side, letting them remain for ten days or even a month so that they might soak through the hide. The skin is next soaked in water over night and wrung out next day, softened and allowed to dry. It is then quite soft. Sometimes they smoke the inside, but my interpreter declared that this was a custom started only a short time ago. Cow chips are used to make the fire, the skin is sewed up Shoshoni fashion (see below), and exposed to the smoke all day. After this process the skin is impervious to water, which just runs off it, and it never gets hard when drying after an exposure to rain.

The Shivwits use the sharpened shinbone of a deer to take off the hair. The hide was kept in warm water, then put on a smooth post and allowed to lie against a tree trunk, the hair being removed by downward strokes. Warm water is again used to soak the skin, which is wrung out

[1] Powell, 43.
[2] Stansbury, 182.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

and stretched so as not to touch the ground. In this position it is sprinkled with brains mixed with water, then soaked in water again, wrung out with a stick, put on a blanket and stretched with hands and feet. When dried it is soft like cloth.

The Shivwits do not smoke skins but the Kanab Paiute do. They dig a hole in the ground and sew the hide together putting up sticks to support it. They make a fire in the pit and allow the smoke to play on the inside, which becomes brownish-yellow. Only one side is smoked.

The Ute (Uintah) also scrape the hair off with a deer shinbone. The hide was then wetted, dried, stretched, and smoothed with a flat stone. On the dry buckskin wetted brains are used. The skin is sewed together and hung from a tripod to be smoked. My informant's tripod was standing in her summer shade and a stick extending from it to the shade formed a meat rack. For the fire the Ute use dried willows. On September 1, 1914 I was able to observe the process of smoking. The pit was rather small and in it a smoldering fire was maintained. The skin was sewed together and suspended from a tripod, being staked down with three small pieces of wood and weighted down with earth. The smoking began at 9.05 A.M. and the skin was taken down, tanned on the inside at 9.38. It was then turned inside out and suspended once more but without the bottom being staked. The second smoking began at 9.42 and ceased at 9.51, but the side tanned then was of much lighter shade than that first exposed to the smoke.

Captain Bob's wife said that in dressing a skin the Ute first of all removed the flesh with a serrate flesher, next scraping off the hair with a knife. Then the hide was soaked and stretched. A beaming tool was used only on the hairy side. Brains were put on and the hide was soaked with them, then stretched, dried and softened with a smooth stone. The beaming tool only was used on deerskins. On tough hides, such as those of the buffalo and nowadays the cow, the adze-shaped scraper is and was substituted. The beaming tool was made of deer bone.

The Paviotso remove the hair with a horse rib, which is also applied to the fleshy side. The scraping process is called *pō''hwōna*. After being scraped, the skin is soaked in cow or deer brains, which process is known as *tōzó'pigin*. Rubbing the skin with the hands is called *tōcáñgo+i+a* and smoking it *tō'wipuctak ''i*.

According to "Bob," the Wind River Shoshoni dressed the hides of all animals in similar fashion. In making robes the hair was left on, for other garments it was removed. First the hide was stretched out on the ground, then with a toothed flesher, *tótzidòə*, the blade of which was once

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

000 of elk or bear bone, they removed the flesh. Next the hair would be removed with a draw-knife, in place of which a horse rib was formerly employed. With a big stone they smoothed the flesh side, then put on brains which had been saved for the purpose. When the brains are dry, the skin is soaked in water for twenty-four hours or longer. Then the skin is wrapped round a stick in order to be wrung. A second application of brains is allowed partly to dry, then a small smooth stone (*ticoa*) is rubbed over the skin till it is smooth. If the skin was designed for a blanket, it would then be decorated with painted parfleche patterns. It was mostly elk hides destined to be cut for moccasins that were smoked.

I had occasion to watch the smoking process (*tūgwü'puciañgen*). A pit of oval shape was made in the ground; it was one foot in length. Stones were placed at the bottom in order "to give air to the fire, which otherwise would go out." The best wood for the kind of fire required is pine wood such as is used for lodge poles, but any kind may be used to start the fire. My informant reduced some pine shavings to charcoal and put them into the pit, then leveled the periphery of the hole with sand. The hide was sewed together and suspended from a tripod. It took thirteen minutes by the watch to tan the skin.[1]

286 281 *Miscellaneous.* The weaving of rabbitskin blankets was practised by both men and women among the Paviotso, but probably mainly by the former. The skins were cut into strips, which were united into long ropes; the strips were first twisted round a stick or ramrod. For the weaving four posts were set in the ground in the form of a rectangle and connected by two crosspieces, the strips being passed from one to another and new ones tied on whenever necessary. It took about two or three hours to weave a robe after the preparations had been completed.

At Fallon I observed Sam Dick skinning two jack-rabbits without a knife. He began with the legs just above the feet, tearing the skin there, then uncovering the legs. Next he slipped the hide out over the body, turning the flesh side out, but leaving the ears intact, finally turned the fur side out and tied the skin of the legs together. With a knife in his mouth I saw the same Paviotso split a rabbitskin till he had a strip about 9½ feet in length. This he tied to another similarly prepared, making a doubled rope, which he twisted round a twig on his thigh while a young man held the other end.

531 287 171 The Ute formerly embroidered porcupine quills but the Paviotso made no quillwork of any kind.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 176.

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Fig. 13 a-b (50.1-7931, 7930). a, Paviotso Basket, Collett; b, Paviotso Mush Bowl.

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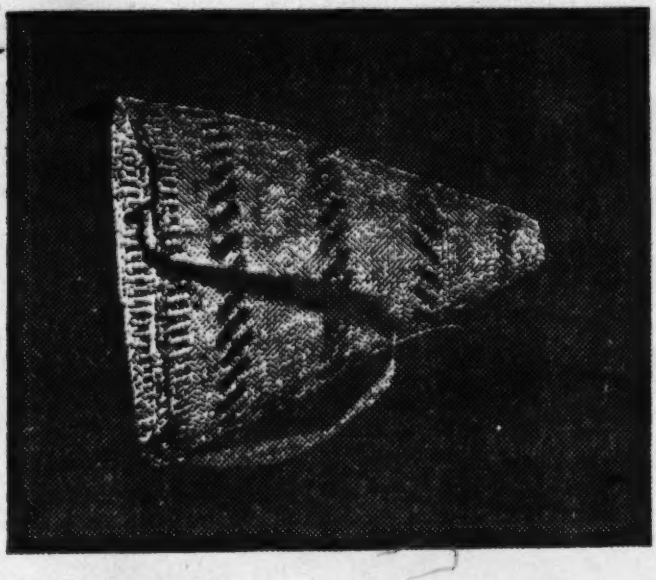

Fig. 15 (50.1-7024). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

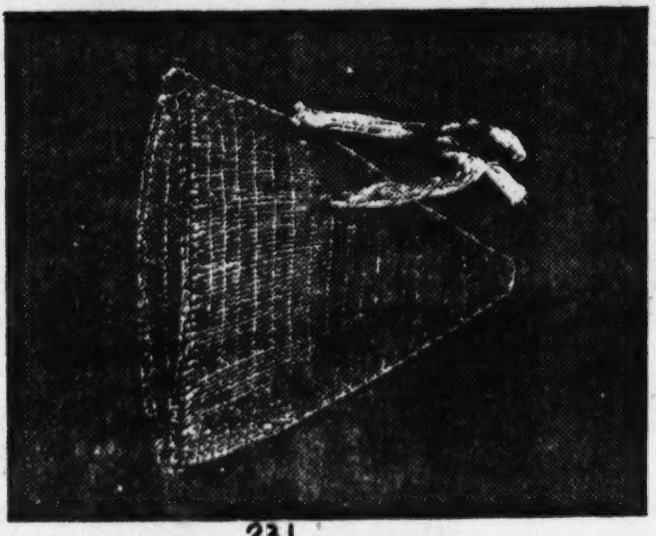

Fig. 14 (50.1-7026). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Openwork.

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2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

412 285 [237] In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence. Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-[252] tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 [824] The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib*[i]) to make rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib*[i] tule for a balsa and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types. Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed bowls, *cō'dzild* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter (50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening [531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig. 13a).

171 285 000 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

[1] Mason, (b), 486 seq.
[2] Lowie, 178 f.
[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

171 [854] [291] The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

285 [243] In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun*ᵉ, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tû'ba—ɣawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawút'nō*ᵉ. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.

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[412] →

Fig. 16 (50.1–7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1–7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamō''nō, ya'ld*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1–7927 and 50.1–7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

[1] Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.
[2] Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

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Fig. 17.

Fig. 18.

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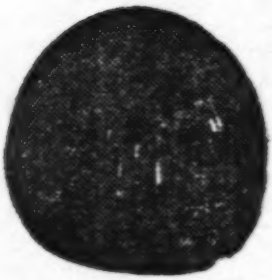
a

Fig. 19.



b

Fig. 17 (50.1–8588). Basketry Hat, Moapa.
Fig. 18 (50.1–8629). Decoration of Moapa Basketry Bowl.
Fig. 19 a-b (50.1–7922, 8643). a, Paviotso Twined Tray; b, Shivwits Tray, Twined.

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2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

285 spherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion; though the point of the cone is somewhat rounded, the vessel cannot stand. There are two lugs of twine and hair, connected by a modern band. The remaining bottles stand without difficulty, all having a flat bottom, which in two cases is dented in the center.

171 285 The Paiute share most of the forms of the Paviotso, but on the basis of the available material they seem to have a greater variety, especially in the coiled technique. To what extent there may be local differences, it is impossible to determine from the collection, which includes only a few Shivwits specimens. Of these a large conical gathering-basket does not seem to call for special comment and an openwork twined tray differs from a Moapa equivalent mainly through its broader, less ellipsoidal form. A very coarse but not open-twined tray (Fig. 19b), and even more so a shallow coiled bowl present a distinctive appearance. The Shivwits, like the Pima,[1] use the pods of the devil's-claw for black splints in making designs.

000 Turning to the Moapa pieces, which constitute the bulk of the Moapa collection, we find among the water-containers one striking difference from those of the Paviotso in that two of them, both jar-shaped, are coiled (Fig. 21). They are flat-bottomed and retain part of the pitch used to render them water-tight; the lugs and carrying-rope are shown in the illustration. This type is shown by Mason[2] and from his statement it appears that Powell collected many specimens of somewhat varying shape but in the same technique from the Utah Paiute, i.e., from the Shivwits and Kaibab. The twined bottles include a flat-[171] bottomed specimen recalling the Paviotso pattern and several pear-shaped pieces (Fig. 20c) rather more bi-conical than the Paviotso equivalent. The larger jugs are called *ōts*; the smaller, *o'tsdits*.

171 285 291 Three hats (*qaitsoqot*, *qaitsogots*) conforming to the same shape (Fig. 17) are all twined like those of the Paviotso. A single Bannock specimen is likewise in this technique. This fact is significant because it aligns the Shoshoneans with the northern rather than the southern Californians.

000 The gathering-baskets (*āīis*), which vary considerably in size, are all twined and fall into two main categories according to whether the twining is close or open. Fig. 22 shows perhaps the best sample of the latter variety. As in several other cases, the inside of the lugs supporting the carrying-band or strap is reënforced with splints or wrapped little sticks. The torsion of the warp strands noted by Mason in a Utah Paiute

[1] Russell, 130.
[2] Mason, (b), Plates 22, 117; 250, 361, 480, 496.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

gathering-basket[1] is noticeable in a number of my specimens also. Its shape is not duplicated in my Moapa collection, in which all pieces but one are conical and even the aberrant form may be conceived as a rounded cone, but a basket bought from the Lemhi Shoshoni closely approximates it. The close-plaited Moapa (specimens 50.1–8616, 8618) gathering baskets are also conical; they exhibit various ornamental patterns. The large Utah Paiute specimen figured by Mason[2] is decorated with a motive practically identical with that on a Paviotso basket (Fig. 16).

A twined basket of unique form is shown in Fig. 23. The ornamentation, which is in two zones, is visible on the inside, but the patterns are externally stressed by a black coating.

The pointed open-twined tray (*yant*^{u}) of Paviotso shape also occurs in Moapa, but there is also a markedly less peaked specimen (specimen 50.1–8592), while another is definitely elliptical (specimen 50.1–8594). The close-plaited trays are likewise of more varied shape than those of the Paviotso; representative forms are specimens 50.1–8575, 50.1–8597, 50.1–8577, 50.1–8599. One name applied to these trays at Shem is *ta'qwū''yo, ta'qwāī'ō*, the Moapa term being ^{ta}*'qōy*^{u}.

Though I did not buy any Paiute seed-beaters, their occurrence is attested by a pair from southern Utah figured by Mason.[3]

The coiled baskets from Moapa are for the most part flat-bottomed. By far the most common shape is the bowl, which varies considerably in size. *Qo'tsits* is the term applied to a coiled bowl, said to have been water-tight and used for a plate, but *tsītsowats* was also noted. The largest suggests a laundry-basket, being provided with lugs. More characteristic samples, also noteworthy for their ornamentation, are seen in Figs. 24, 26. Practically all the basketry-bowls have some decorative motive, as shown in Fig. 18, though in some cases it dwindles into insignificance. In a number of specimens the shape is not distinctively that of a bowl but assumes rather ellipsoidal outlines. A very neatly worked little basket, recurved at the top and markedly truncate at the bottom is shown in Fig. 29b, and a large basket with a lid quite distinct from all the rest is seen in Fig. 25.

At Moapa I unfortunately did not secure any sandals, but a pair made to order by a Shivwits (Fig. 5a) is of considerable interest, both because quite different from the tule, equivalents of the Paviotso and because strongly suggestive of the cross-woven Basket-Maker sandals described by Kidder and Guernsey.[4]

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[1] Mason, (b), 493.
[2] Mason, (b), 494.
[3] Mason, (b), 492.
[4] Kidder and Guernsey, 158, Pl. 67.

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Fig. 20 a-c (50.1-7910, 7905, 8608) Basketry Bottles. a, b, Paviotso, Twined; c, Moapa.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

The Museum has one coiled berrying-basket collected by J. W. Powell from the Paiute of southern Utah (Fig. 28a). It is very similar in technique and general shape to a form popular among the Ute (see below).

Several other pieces collected by Powell are of uncertain provenience, but may be confidently assigned to either the Ute or Paiute. To the former I am inclined to credit the hat in Fig. 31a because it differs from all the known Paiute equivalents and resembles in its projecting top the Ute hat illustrated by Mason.[1] Like the other Shoshonean hats, it is twined. Regarding the other Powell specimens I have no data to decide their provenience, as they are neither described by Mason nor duplicated in subsequent collections of either Ute or Paiute material. Three of them are small coiled bowls, one of which is heavily pitched in one part; they share a characteristic braided rim. A larger circular bowl, also coiled, is shown in Fig. 31d and a close-coiled meat tray in Fig. 31c.

The baskets definitely known to come from the Ute are remarkable, if the Museum collection may be taken as representative, for the dearth of twined ware. Winnowing trays of both Paiute forms are lacking. A gathering-basket of open-twined variety described by Mason as Paiute[2] and found by myself at Lemhi was bought by Kroeber among the Northern Ute (Fig. 27b). Three bottles, all of biconical or pear shape, are also twined. All the other bottles, representing a number of distinct varieties of forms, are coiled (Figs. 28b, 20).

A type of coiled basketry distinctive of the Ute is represented by a moderately sized berrying-basket, uniformly worked on a two-rod foundation. The shape varies from the anomalous cuspidor form (Fig. 28c) to the varieties illustrated in Figs. 28a and 27a. The specimens of this category come from both the Northern and the Southern Ute, those of the latter having been purchased partly at Ignacio and partly at Navaho Springs.

A plain bowl with two-rod foundation—the single sample of this shape—is shown in Fig. 29a. It was bought at Navaho Springs.

A coarse coiled tray collected at Navaho Springs recalls Apache equivalents. Relations in the same direction are suggested by three other baskets (Figs. 30 a-c).

WAR.

The Shoshoni naturally show Plains Indian influences most clearly. Among their chief enemies were the Crow, who are repeatedly cited by

[1] Mason, (b), 490.
[2] Mason, (b), 493.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wilson.[1] The emphasis was put on horse-stealing and at the Sun dance such raids were the things spoken of, provided the narrator had witnesses for his deeds. At present they also tell of chasing or killing the enemy, but my informant regarded this as an innovation due to the Crow Indians. At the time of the Sun dance and when the sham battle is held they speak of guns captured from the enemy, and other deeds, but horse-stealing is regarded as brave an exploit as any. Though scalps were taken, scalping did not rank as an heroic deed, nor was I able to get a definite statement as to counting coup. My informant had heard of punishing enemies with a long stick, but did not make any more specific comment on the subject. A man who rode up to an enemy with a gun and pulled him from his horse was reckoned a brave man; so was a Shoshoni who rushed up in the face of an enemy shooting at him and then got back safe or even repelled the enemy. Such a man would become a leader among the warriors. Scouts would carry a wolf hide and walk with the aid of two sticks. In going out there were generally two head men, who would say, "Well, let us gather men and set out." They located the enemy, watching where they put their horses. That night they would get their knives ready and drive off the horses, prepared to fight if overtaken.

During Washakie's chieftainship my informant went with the rest of the men against the Arapaho. They killed a few and got off with some horses: the scalps were put on sticks. When they got near camp the party sang war songs, then the women rode out double to meet them, relieving them of the scalp-sticks.[2] Coming into camp several of the warriors discharged their guns, then they rode round camp singing war songs. Finally everything would quiet down. In the evening they held a dance (*wutápe*). The old women would hold the enemies' hands or other parts of the body in their mouths. The dance was also performed on the next day and might be repeated for several days in succession.

There were rarely any disputes about war exploits; generally every one knew who deserved the credit for them.

Besides bows and arrows, the Shoshoni are said to have used spears of pine wood about twelve feet long with a steel spike about four inches in length.[3] They had buffalo shields (*tserop*). They cut off the breast part of a buffalo hide and pegged it down over a pit filled with hot rocks. The hide gets drawn up, then it was easy to pull off the hair. It was moved to a pile of earth and when dry was furnished with a cover of

[1] Wilson, 27, 44, 87.
[2] Wilson, 27
[3] Wilson, 107

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 245]

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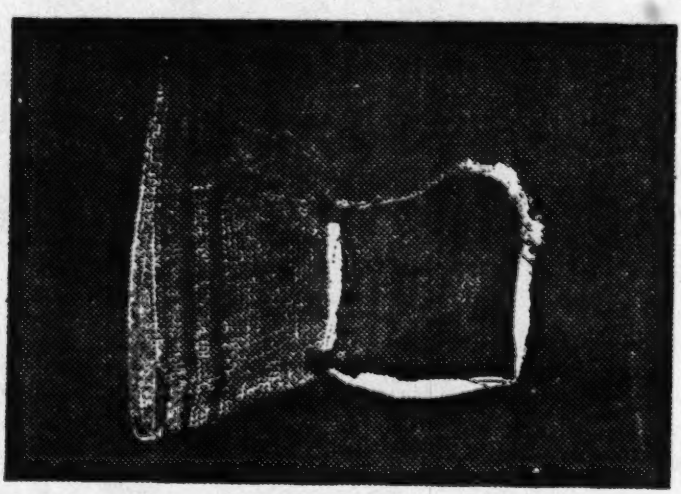

Fig. 22 (50.1-8018). Mosqa Gathering Basket.

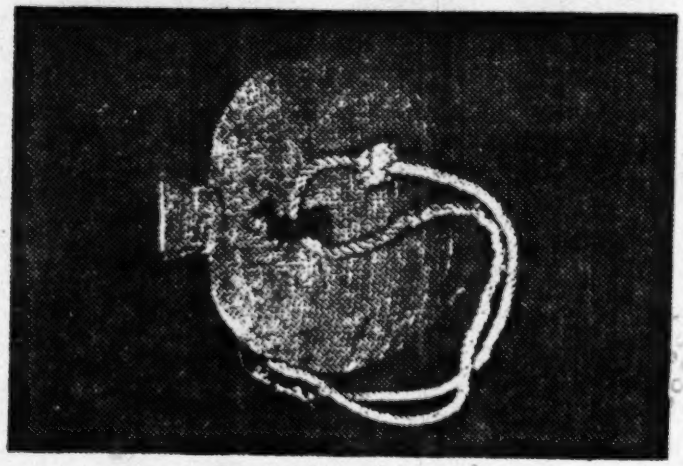

Fig. 21 (50.1-8000). Mosqa Basketry Bottle, Coiled.

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2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

000 antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,[1] but I failed to secure specific data.

726 The Paviotso did not practise scalping.[2] They wore an armor of
237 stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it
714 first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was killed through eye-slits in his armor.

000 Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

> Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.[3]

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

411 Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ārō*) by the Paviotso,—
[824] *tsīsaвi*, *poγo'nōв*ⁱ, and *ugwo'qow*ᵃ, the last-mentioned being used for
[463] arrows (*poñossᵃ*) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war.
[237] The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the *kuyúi* fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamū́вi*) twisted on
[237] the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point.
[237] Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one
[824] or two dozen arrows. Another informant said that bows were of juniper wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. The bow was decorated with designs
[531] traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirūpiⁱ*). The arrow-head was sometimes smeared with poison (*nötúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized with the thumb and index in shooting.

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[1] [illegible]kins, 54.
[2] Reed 25, 79, 83.
[3] Powell [illegible]

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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A young Paviotso named John Toby showed me four arrows he had made. For some he had found points in the vicinity; one, I think, was slate, the other obsidian. All were three-feathered. A foreshaft of heavier wood was inserted into a lighter shaft hollowed out to the depth of two or three inches. The foreshaft was formerly of greasewood, but now Toby substitutes apple wood.

[824] [078] 000

The Wind River Shoshoni mentioned two principal types of bow,—one a self-bow of birch wood, the other made from two mountain-sheep horns joined at the grip and sinew-backed. The bowstring was of sinew. They also would use one elkhorn, sawing it down the middle and splitting it, then wetting the fragments, heating them, and bending the whole into bow shape. Three pieces of buffalo horn were also united and strengthened with sinew in the middle; the back was smoothed and polished.

Wilson writes:—

> The bows were sometimes made of mountain-sheep horns, which were thrown into some hot spring and left there until they were pliable. Then they were shaped, and a strip of sinew was stuck on the back with some kind of balsam gum that was about as good as glue. This made a powerful bow. Not many Indians had this kind; most of our Indians used bows made from white cedar strung with sinew along the back.[1]

Arrows, according to the same observer, were made from serviceberry limbs dried for a whole year. These were straightened by pulling through a hole in an antelope horn straightener. Each shaft was then creased, feathered and supplied with a steel head, which of course was a substitute for the earlier flint point.[2]

The Shoshoni had buffalo-hide quivers fringed at the bottom and also carried a longer, narrower strip of buffalo skin as a bow case. They used the poggamoggan (*tü'mbi wá'topane*), the stone hanging loose from the handle. Quirts had long wooden handles.

The Wind River Shoshoni had men known as *naíəmapõ'naite*, which literally means "Does not know anything." (Cf. Crow: *wardaxe*, crazy; *ba+itsiretkā'ace*, not-knowing-anything). Such a man would carry a long flute (*wá'+i*) for his only weapon. In camp he would go round blowing it; in battle he would try to kill an enemy with it, whereupon he became a war chief and threw the flute away. It was strong enough to kill a man hit over the head with it.

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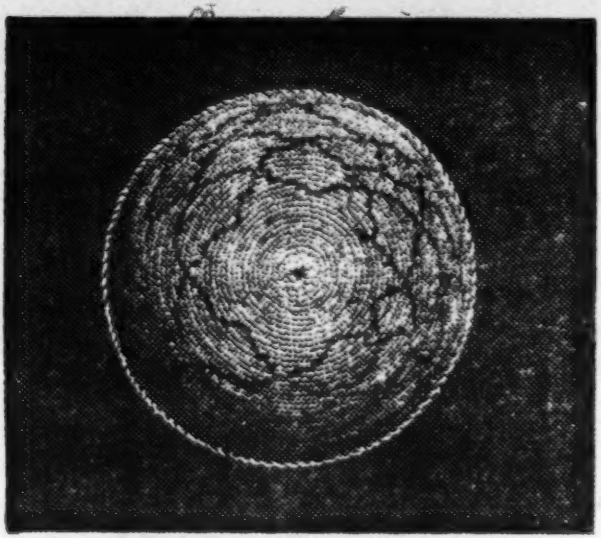

Fig. 24 (50.1-8622). Moapa Basketry Bowl, Coiled.

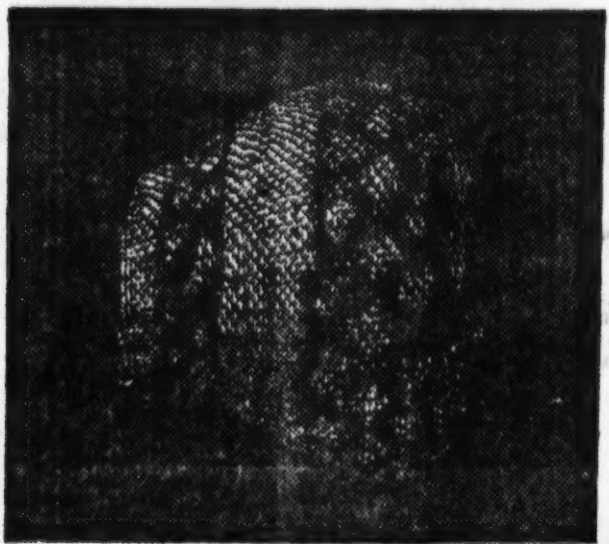

Fig. 23 (50.1-8583). Moapa Basket.

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2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

TRANSPORTATION.

The Wind River Shoshoni did not use the travois with either dogs or horses "except very rarely." It may be noted that the Crow likewise did not use the horse travois except to transport wounded people. For this purpose the Shoshoni of Washakie's band are also reported to have used the device.[1] Bags were sometimes tied to each side of the dog by the Shoshoni and a sort of crupper went round its tail. According to informants at both Ignacio and Whiterocks, the Ute did not use the travois at all.

Characteristic of the Paiute and Paviotso are large burden baskets carried on the back of the women by means of a tumpline. The Shivwits say this line rested on the basket hat, which thus served to protect the head, a conception exactly paralleled among California tribes.

The Shoshoni say they had no means of crossing water except wading, but the other groups refer to some other means of transportation and even for the Shoshoni Wilson reports bulrush rafts holding from six to eight hundred pounds (see below as to "balsas").[2]

The Shivwits had the following scheme. When there were people who could not swim they and the baggage got on the center part of a log while some swimmers got in front to pull the raft and others in the rear to push it forward. Thus they crossed the Colorado, the only river that required any such device. The raft was called *ponintsaxàp*[i]; the logs and crossbeams were tied together with yucca (*ū"s*) string. Another method of carrying goods across was for a swimmer to take his load on his head, holding it with one hand, and taking a long log under the other arm. A child might be carried across with its chin resting on the person's head. Sometimes a mountain sheep was carried across the Colorado on the swimmer's head.

A Uintah Ute spoke of a raft made from *simpuv*[i] grass. It was only used in shooting with bow and arrow and could accommodate from two to five men. When well made this type of boat would not sink; after being used, it was inverted and allowed to dry.

When hunting ducks and mud-hens in the fall the Paviotso use a balsa consisting of tule rushes tied in bundles so as to approximate boat shape. A specimen bought near Fallon (Fig. 32) is composed of two bundles of the tule species known as *saib*[i], while the twisted rushes used to tie the bundles are of the *toib*[i] or flat tule variety,—the same as that used for wikiups. The construction took two hours. It was then success-

[1] Wilson, 104.
[2] Ibid., 20.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

223 fully tested on a small pond about fourteen miles from Fallon, a long
501 willow pole being used for punting. This particular balsa was meant for a single person, who kneels in the rear, facing the prow-like end. Some specimens accommodate two men, in which case the one not punting occupies the center of the raft, also facing the prow. A low rim toward the front keeps birds from rolling overboard after being shot and placed aboard. In shallow water the poling is all on one side, in deeper water it alternates with a paddle-like stroke. These balsas get much lighter as the
171 tule dries. A very similar balsa from Pyramid Lake has been figured in
501 the *Handbook of American Indians*, I, p. 156. According to Kroeber, the balsa is widely distributed in California, occurring among the Modoc, Achomawi, Wintun, Maidu, Pomo, Costanoans, Yokuts, Tübatulabal, Luiseño, Diegueño, and Colorado River tribes.

000 The Plateau Shoshonean cradles conform to two main types,—the basketry type suggestive of Californian specimens, and the board type as found among some of the more western Plains tribes. I do not know of any Shoshonean peoples besides the Comanche who employ Mason's "lattice" form.[1]

171 As might be expected from their location and cultural relations, it is
854 the Paviotso and Paiute who employ the Californian pattern while the Shoshoni and Ute exhibit both forms simultaneously. The board-cradle of both these tribes is rounded at the top and tapers towards the bottom, the shape closely resembling that of Blackfoot, Nez Percé, and Crow cradles. The board is covered with buckskin and there is an awn-
000 ing above the infant's head. The largest cradle in the possession of the Museum (specimen 50.1–6930) is of this category; it was bought from a Southern Ute at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The picture (Fig. 33b) shows a Ute baby resting in its cradle; to enhance the æsthetic effect the mother threw a beaded vest over the top of the board. This piece closely resembles the one figured by Mason as coming from the Uncompahgre Ute[2] and thus establishes the essential identity of the Northern and Southern Ute cradleboards. Specimen 50.1–6930 also shows the two straps noted by Mason,—one near the top for suspension in the lodge the other lower down for the mother's forehead. In addition the back has near the top a fringe that is lacking in Mason's illustration.

In a previous publication I have described another form of Shoshoni cradle,[3] which is best considered an aberrant variety of the basketry

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

[1] Handbook, vol I, 357.
[2] Mason, (a), 526.
[3] Lowie, 190.

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Fig. 25 (50.1-8593ab). Mosapa Basket with Lid.

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2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

type: a hoop encloses a series of *transverse* willow sticks gradually shortened toward the bottom and united by three strings passing through perforations near the extremities and center of each. The general shape is thus similar to that of the board cradle, while the arrangement of sticks recalls the Plains Indian backrests. A specimen from the Lenders collection (50.1–885) conforms to the usual basket-work type in which *vertical* rods are held together by a basketry technique (see below). A Ute variant of this order from southern Utah is described and illustrated by Mason.[1] Compared with Paviotso and Paiute equivalents to be noticed presently its most distinctive feature is the use underneath of an ellipsoidal hoop that bulges beyond the frame laterally, but does not enclose it vertically; the sticks project beyond it both above and below. The rods are united by twining, there is an awning, and the white buckskin cover encloses the entire frame, rods as well as hoop.

The Paviotso use a diminutive cradle (*sa'ki'huba*) with rounded hood at the top during the first month of the infant's life (50.1–7963); the basketry technique is that of simple openwork twining. In general shape this specimen is not unlike one of the two Shasta cradles illustrated by Dixon.[2] It is carried in the arms. Later a second cradle (*hūbb'*) is made, which remains in use until the child is able to walk. The Museum has three specimens of definitely known provenance,—two uncovered and one, lacking the awning, covered with buckskin. Four covered pieces catalogued as "Paiute" (50.1–2110, 50.1–4026, 50.1–4025, 50.1–5991) may, however, with great assurance be ascribed to the Paviotso, making seven full-sized specimens in all.

In both covered and uncovered cradles the greater part of the structure consists of parallel rods united by openwork twining, and the awning is likewise of uniform pattern to be described below. The main difference is in the framing, which leads to a difference in the outer shape of the two variants. In the uncovered variety, represented by a Pyramid Lake specimen (50.1–7912), the two framing rods, which are united to each other by wrapping, are on all sides parallel to the framed rods, which they closely adjoin, so that there results a compact quadrilateral narrower at the bottom than at the top. The covered pieces may be represented by the Pyramid Lake cradle shown in Fig. 34b, where the frame consists of two looped sticks applied from top and bottom respectively, so that the total appearance of the cradle suggests the Nez Percé pattern or that of the Ute, if rounded off below. The skin covering extends

[1] Mason, (a), 527.
[2] Dixon, (b), 434.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

854 171 285 over the upper loop but never over the lower, which thus projects on the average about three inches beyond the lower rim of the rods. The upper loop in one case approaches the upper rim of the rods but is usually at a distance of from five to six inches from it, this fact being masked by the joint covering.

In both covered and uncovered specimens the back of the rod structure is generally strengthened with two or more transverse sticks. The awning common to both variants is a sort of hood composed of delicate rods united by openwork twining. It rises from about two to five or six inches below the cradle-top and is supported some distance from its summit by a series of twigs bent into arches fastened to the sides of the cradle and forming with the plane of the rods an angle of, say, 120 854 degrees. The awning exhibits a decorative pattern, which designates the 285 sex of the infant. A series of diagonal lines indicates a boy, while an alternation of diamond and X motives is used on girls' cradles. Two Mu- 531 seum specimens show a zigzag motive, which I regard as probably belong- 171 ing to a girl's cradle because of the definiteness with which my informants associated boys with the series of slanting lines. One of Mason's "Nevada Ute" cradles from Pyramid Lake, both of course Paviotso, has the zigzag motive, the other the oblique-like pattern.[1]

The Paviotso cradles are obviously very closely related to those of the Washo, as appears both from a Washo specimen in the Museum and from Dr. Barrett's photograph. Precisely as among the Paviotso the infant's sex is indicated by the awning design, diagonal lines being the badge of boyhood, the alternating pattern of girls.[2]

The Northern Maidu summer cradle differs in structure from the Paviotso forms described but has a strikingly similar awning, the resemblance extending to its support.[3]

000 Among the Moapa Paiute I saw two types of basketry cradles, one of which was said to be characteristic of the Moapa, while the other was said to be of Shivwits pattern. My informant spoke of a third form used at Las Vegas, Nevada, but that I have never seen.

[854 171 285] The Moapa cradle (Fig. 34a) resembles the uncovered Paviotso type in being square at the bottom, where it lacks the framing bow of the covered variant; on the other hand, it suggests the latter in the bow projecting several inches beyond the twined rods. The position of the awning recalls that characteristic of the Apache, Navajo, and Hopi,[4]

[1]Mason, (a), 528.
[2]Barrett, (b), 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 3.
[3]Dixon, (a), 200.
[4]Mason, (a), 530–534.

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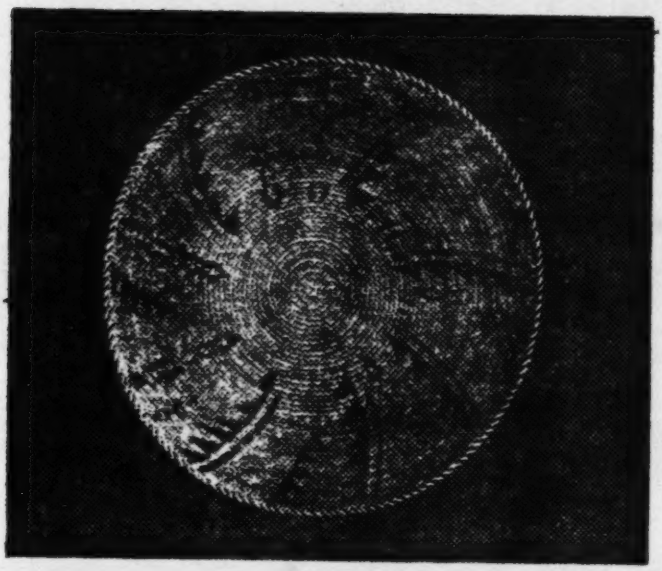

Fig 26.

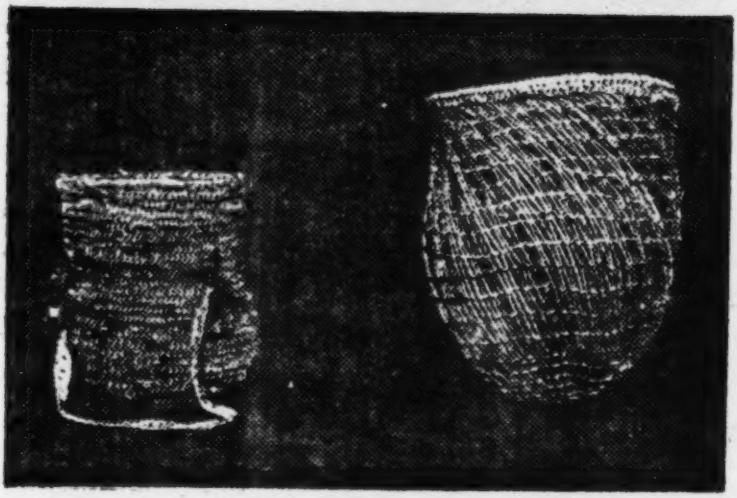

Fig 27.

Fig. 26 (50.1–8628). Moapa Basketry Bowl, Coiled.
Fig. 27 ab (50.1–6952, 50–1345). Baskets, Ute and Northern Ute.

[P. 256 is 225 blank]

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

that is to say, it is an arch secured to the sides of the frame. In structure, however, this arch differs from those figured by Mason, since it consists of a considerable number of thin-bowed rods united in pairs by twining, which is done in such a way as to produce a decorative pattern of approximately V-shaped elements.

The Shivwits cradle (Fig. 33a) is double-bowed like the covered Paviotso type. In place of the compound arch of the Moapa cradle there is a single bent stick connecting the two sides. From near the top, the flat frame formed by the twined rods, there rises the twined basket-work awning, which gradually expands from a width of 2½ inches to 6 inches and is secured to the center of the arch. Compared with the Paviotso awning, which it resembles in general position, the Shivwits awning differs in being longer, narrower, undecorated, and almost flat instead of definitely vaulted; its support consists of a single rod where the Paviotso cradle usually has six and is more or less vertical to the plane of cradle frame instead of forming an obtuse angle with it.

GAMES.

In his monograph Stewart Culin has given rather careful consideration to Shoshonean games and I here merely offer personal notes and observations.

Among the Moapa Paiute the cup-and-ball game (*tō'dsip'* or *tō+dsinimp'*) is popular in a definite form, a cottontail skull being caught on a *pasïa* stalk originally connected with it by means of *wu'ïni* string. A model was obtained (Fig. 35). Each of the tooth cavities counts 6, the holes on the side 10, any other hole 1, the front teeth 6, while catching the minute hole on the inside of each row of tooth cavities at once wins the game regardless of the score, being equivalent to countless points. It is said that a person who loses this game gets bald-headed.

The Shivwits use the bull-roarer (*nánimü*), but only as a children's toy, as which it was instituted by the mythical character Wolf. A father would make one for his children to play with. Fig. 36 represents a model.

A figure by Powell indicates the playing of the hand-game by his Paiute.[1]

The Ute of Ignacio thus described their manner of playing the hand-game (*naiqu'k· apărau*). All the players at any one time are of the same sex but both men and women play the game. Formerly the caches consisted of two elk teeth tied together, and each player had two. If the

[1] Powell, Fig. 46, facing p. 128.

guesser missed both hands, he paid two counters; if he missed only one hand, he lost one counter. There are both large and small tallies, and one of the latter equals four of the larger, so that when a man scores four he returns the big counters in return for one little one. There are four ways of indicating a guess. When the guesser moves his hand to the right, it means that he thinks the caches are in both his opponents' left hands. When he moves his hand to the left, his guess is that the objects are hidden in the two right hands. If he lowers his hand between his opponents, he indicates that his left-hand opponent holds the cache in his left hand, the right-hand opponent in his right hand. Pointing with thumb and index extended and separated means that the opponents' outside hands hold the caches.

Cañute is mentioned as a Ute game by Reed.[1]

Among the Wind River Shoshoni basket-dice are used for a game called *ñ+uuùnohõ*, which I played with Wawanabidi, his wife, my interpreter, and a boy, each playing for himself. However, this seems to be essentially a woman's pastime. Ordinarily each participant has two throws but after the completion of a game the winner starts with a single throw in beginning the new game. Another statement that a player continues to throw as long as she scores is contradictory to the foregoing. The dice seen consisted of three bone discs and three diamond-shaped bones and were thrown by lifting the basketry tray containing them and striking the ground with it. Sometimes, however, a player takes them into her hand and casts them on the basket for her initial throw. Long and short tallies are used, the latter counting ten points and the former one point apiece. When ten long counters have been accumulated they are exchanged for one short one. The method of counting the various possible combinations of throws is given below:—

All blank sides up (*dzũ'upin*) = 5
All blank except one star = 1
All blank except one marked diamond = 1
Three blank disks and three marked diamonds (*ndure*) = 4
All marked sides up (*dzũ'upin*) = 5
All blank, except two stars = 0
All blank, except two marked diamonds = 0
Two blank disks, others marked = 0
Two marked disks, one marked diamond, rest blank = 0
Two marked diamonds, one marked star = 0
Three blank diamonds, three marked discs (*ndure*) = 0
One blank disk, rest marked = 1

[1] Reed, 80, 172. For a full account of the Tewa form of the game, see Harrington, 343 seq.

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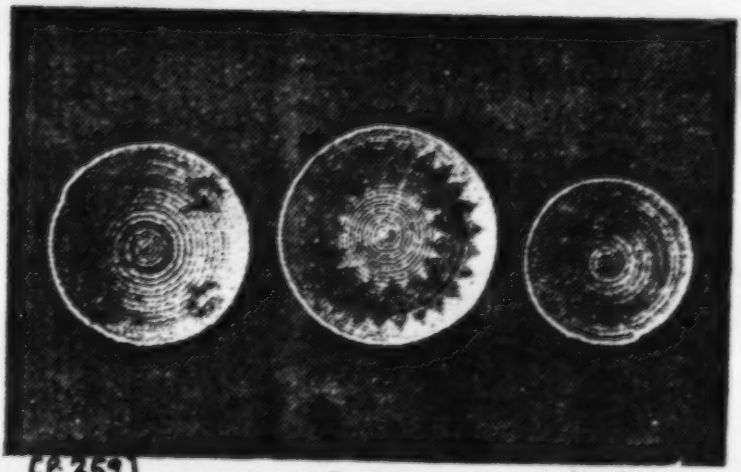
Fig. 28.

Fig. 29.



[p 259]
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Fig. 30.

Fig. 28 *a–c* (50–1547, 1209, 1242). Baskets. *a*, *c*, Berrying Baskets, Ute; *b*, Water Bottle, Ute.

Fig. 29 *ab* (50.1–6965, 8627). Baskets. *a*, Southern Ute Bowl, Navaho Springs; *b*, Moapa Basket, re-curved at Top.

Fig 30 *a–c* (50.1–6937, 6960, 6954). Southern Ute Basketry Trays, Coiled.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

A game called *tū'manaiyawin* is said to have been played mostly by the Ya'handika (Groundhog-eater) band, who used to live toward the west of the Wind River, and are probably now mixed with the A'gaitika (Salmon-eater) band.[1] Though this is a guessing-game the players do not hide the objects to be concealed in their hands but under big basketry trays. Two persons would hide the caches. The guesser used a wand. If he held it out horizontally and gripped it in the center, it meant that the plain caches were in (near?) the outside hands. For the inside hands he moved the wand held out away from himself, perpendicularly down between his two opponents; to indicate the hands to his own right he pointed the stick left, and vice versa. The following song was sung with the game:—

Pândzōaʙitc	kū́winògin;	tū'ndzayàtsi	kū́winògin.
Water-ogre	is shaking his head;	the prairie-dog	is shaking his head.

In the hand-game (*naíyahwin*) the position of the plain caches is guessed. When the guesser wishes to indicate that they are in the two outside hands of the concealers, he extends the thumb and index of his right hand, this guess being known as *qádzumànt'*, "ends." To indicate both inside hands the guesser's hand, with fingers extended, is moved perpendicularly down between his opponents. For both caches in the right or left hands of the concealers, the guesser points his extended index in the appropriate direction, the other fingers being clenched. Another form of guess is called *sȁwanó*: the guesser makes a fork of his index and middle finger, other fingers being clenched, and points in the direction *opposite* to the one he wishes to indicate. No guess counts until the guesser has said, "Dzō," i.e., "Ready!"

The hoop-game (*náhani*) was played by two men. There was a brush enclosure toward which the hoop was rolled. A fringed stick was thrown at it, and the part that touched the hoop determined the count of the throw. The hoop was about the size of a hand-drum.

The Shoshoni also would roll the ring from a saddle cinch, while all the players tried to shoot an arrow through it from the same place.

A game called *mȁnigȁwan dáwidoi* consisted in throwing a finger ring into a little square goal about ten or fifteen feet away.

Tū'mbi nárapēn was a game played on the ice by the unmarried young people, who used the occasion for courting. They selected a smooth spot and sat down in two arcs of a circle. Each side had two flat smooth rocks and a very small, usually blue, bead. The rocks were thrown at the bead of the opposing side, each hit scoring one.

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[1] Lowie, 306.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

000 Stone tops wrapped with buckskin were thrown on the ice simultaneously by all the players and the one who kept his top spinning for the longest time won the game, which was called *nárapùdjin*[a]. When they wished to play this game the Shoshoni said they were going to have a rock-race.

Wilson describes a boys' game in which the players shot at the brush and made out they were aiming at enemies. To clip off a twig counted as taking a scalp and the successful marksman would carry the twig in his belt as a trophy. The same author describes the eagerness with which the adult Shoshoni indulged in horse-racing and gambling. The stakes were considerable, so that a gambler might win fifty ponies by a single bet.[1]

524 525 A game played by the Paviotso men is called *wō'qúkoratsàñen*. Six cane dice are thrown on the ground within a circle traced on the ground. Along the circle a number of sticks are planted in slanting position. These serve as tallies, and a player who scores so as to come all the way round one semicircle wins the game. They used to gamble for arrows, buckskin, beads, nets, and other objects.

524 The women played a dice game (*nâsoγò'in*). They used painted sticks, which were thrown up from a basket.

526 The men played a football game (*watcimuin*). The ball was of buckskin and about the size of a baseball, but soft. Eight men played. They took off their clothing and kicked the ball towards a goal of two sticks set up at both ends. To win they had to get the ball between the goal posts of the opposite side.

The women's ball game (*nazi'tsaka*) was played by from eight to ten players. Every one had a long stick and there were two cross sticks. There were no goal posts, the goals being represented by two rings. The side that got the buckskin ball to the center of the ring won.

Two men played the hoop game (*ipai'ciin*). The hoop was thrown and the men threw their darts. If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored.

In the *wu'tóqoin* game two men kicked as many balls and the one who first reached the goal won.

524 Two forms of the hand-game were played. In the *ohŏ̀ribo* form, played only by men, the caches were of bone and the plain bone was to be guessed. The four caches are hidden under a *tŭ̀m*[a] tray, where they are laid in a row. The concealer sings, while the opponent guesses the plain [525] ones. There are two on each side, others gamble on the result. Eight

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

[1] Wilson, 23, 42 f.

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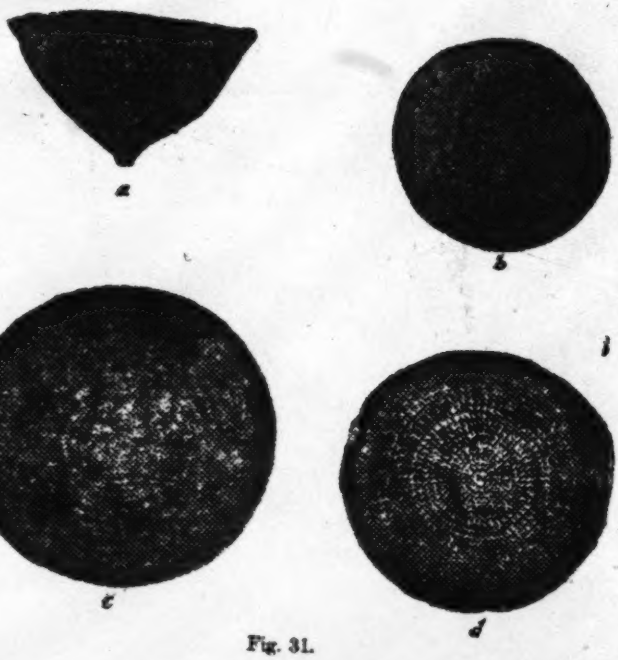

Fig. 31.

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Fig. 32.

Fig. 31 *a-d* (50-1554, 1550, 50.1-8644, 50-1549). Basketry Hat and Trays. *a*, *b*, *d*, probably Ute; *c*, Shivwits

Fig. 32. Paviotso Balsa, Fallon, Nevada.

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524 tally sticks are used, and when one side has won all of them it wins the game. In the *naydwĭsa* form, not bones, but willow sticks are hidden. Long ago beets (*sic*) were used. Only two caches were used in the old days, and they were not hidden under a tray. Women, as well as men, play this form, but at any one game all the players are of one sex. There are ten sticks serving as counters.

Four men played at *narák'baĭtsa*. First an arrow was thrown, then the one who shot an arrow closest to the one thrown was regarded as the winner.

Another arrow-game, *tûrŏgwinăĭtsa*, differed in that the arrows were merely thrown, not shot, at the target-arrow.

BIRTH.

000 A Moapa woman in labor is assisted by two women, one of whom watches the womb while the other hoists up the patient's body. When these attendants are exhausted, the husband comes to take their place. The woman who watches the womb cuts the navelstring with a knife, and it is afterwards tied up in a bag and secured to the arch of the cradle. When the baby grows older, the mother removes the bag and buries it in the brush. For a month or more after the infant's birth sexual intercourse is not indulged in by the parents and for a month neither eats any meat. Also the parents would move some distance away to a small shelter, where they remained six days in case of a girl and five days if a boy had been born, whereupon they would return to their former home. As soon as the father heard of a child's birth he would formerly run some distance away and then back again "to save his life"; for the saying was that if a man did this he would live to be an old man, while contrariwise he would age rapidly and his teeth would fall out when he was still young.

Southern Ute customs recall some of these Paiute features; the rules affecting *both* parents are especially noteworthy. When a woman was in labor several old women skilled in matters obstetrical were sent for to watch her until after parturition; the husband sometimes stayed there and sometimes went to another house. Poles were planted into the floor and the women in labor knelt and grasped them. The navel cord is cut and tied; after four days the part that falls off is taken far away and buried in an ant hill, or it is fixed up neatly in some buckskin and tied to the cradle. If it is lost, the baby will grow up to run around as a foolish person; hence, any boy or girl who acts too foolishly is said to have lost his navel cord. As soon as a baby is born, plenty of lukewarm water is handed to the mother, who drinks it to cleanse herself inwardly.

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She must remain indoors for a month and never drink cold water or eat meat[1]; these taboos extend to her husband, but only for four days. The old women instruct the parents regarding all necessary observances. If a man drank cold water before the proper time his teeth would soon rot; Panayţis lost two teeth in this way. The morning after the birth the father must run round in the hills. He will break a branch, run, place it on a tree, break another limb, run on, and continue in this fashion all day; otherwise he would never catch any deer. The branches represent deer. Before the birth of the child a pit is dug in the house and the ashes from a fire built outside are put in and covered with dirt, whereupon powdered cedarbark is put on top. The woman and her baby are placed on this pile; according to Panayţis the heat prevents the development of body hair such as Caucasians have.[2] There are still other regulations to be followed. Neither parent must use his fingers to scratch himself lest they leave black marks; instead a wooden scratching-stick is carried in the braid or other part of the hair for one month.[3] Further it is forbidden for both to rub their eyes during the natal period lest their eyes get sore or even become blind. The father will seek out a good old hunter and give him clothing or a bow with arrows, and the mother will similarly present a good old woman with a blanket or dress, in the hope that their baby might live to an equally ripe age and be equally successful. For several days after the birth the father refrains from horseback-riding; then he may ride a mare or some other horse of inferior quality. At the expiration of a month he will paint a good horse from head to tail and ride him. He and his wife daub themselves with the same kind of paint and some other woman cooks food and feeds the mother with it. This signalizes the cessation of the natal taboos.

A Uintah told me that a woman in travail assumed a kneeling position and clung to a big stick planted in front of her. One female attendant clasped her round the waist, squeezing her, another made the delivery, cut the navelstring, and washed the infant, who lay about for a month or a month and a half, when a cradleboard was made. Boys' and girls' cradles did not differ except that the latter were painted yellow. The part of the navelcord that falls off is put into a rag, which in turn is placed within a little beaded bag, which is attached to the cradle. When the child grows up and people have killed a deer, they sometimes remove the navelcord, and put it into the deer's guts. Others push it deep down

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 269]

[1] These taboos occur also among the Cahuilla of southern California. See Hooper, 351.
[2] The Cahuilla practise a similar custom. See Hooper, *loc. cit.*
[3] The Shasta mother must use a scratching-stick for five days after the child's birth. (Dixon, 455). Elsewhere the implement is associated with adolescence rather than parturition.

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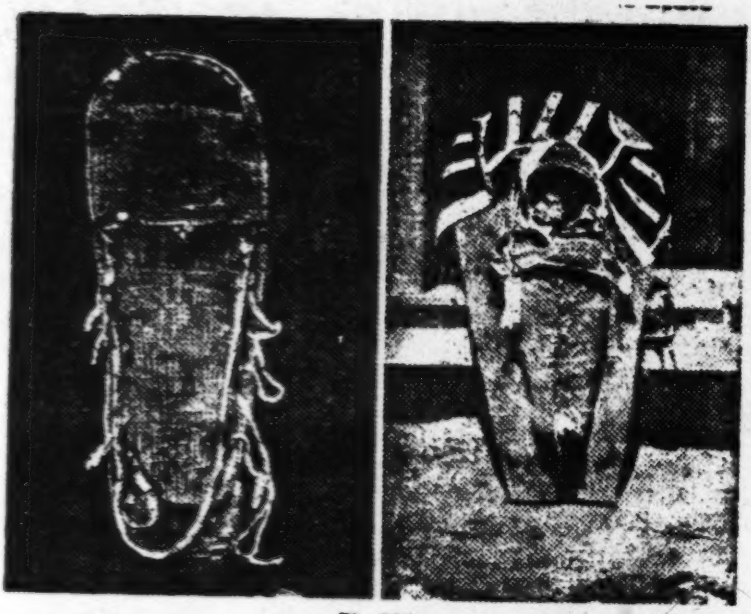

Fig. 33.

[854]

Fig. 34.

Fig. 33 *a*(50.1–8624). Cradles. *a*, Shivwits; *b*, Southern Ute, Navaho Springs, Colorado.

Fig. 34 *ab*(50.1–8623, 7915). Cradles. *a*, Moapa; *b*, Pyramid Lake Paviotso.

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into an ant hill. If the navelcord were merely thrown away, the child would be weak and liable to fall sick, but if it is disposed of in the customary way the infant will come to be strong. Sydney's baby had a beaded diamond-shaped pouch containing the navelcord attached to the cradleboard in the middle of the right side.

At Fallon I was told that while Shoshoni women kneel in labor the Paviotso lie on their backs like white women. In order to "loosen the blood" after parturition the mother would drink an infusion of a piece scraped off from a mountain-sheep horn.

The navelcord is wrapped up and tied inside the cradle; when they wish to get rid of it, they hide it. According to Sarah Hopkins both parents abstained from all flesh during the natal period and

> the father goes through the labor of piling the wood for twenty-five days, and assumes all his wife's household work during that time. If he does not do his part in the care of the child, he is considered an outcast. Every five days his child's basket is changed for a new one, and the five are all carefully put away at the end of the days, the last one containing the navelstring, carefully wrapped up, and all are put into a tree, and the child put into a new and ornamented basket.[1]

Like her Lemhi sister, the Wind River Shoshoni woman retired to a menstrual lodge,[2] which was erected at some distance. She stayed there for about thirty days. A female attendant might remain with her; some women lived there alone much of the time, though visited by other women. The husband never came there and did not see his child until his wife returned home. If he stayed with his wife, he would bleed to death from the nose. When the child was born, another man would inform the father and say to him, "Now go to the creek and take a good bath." He would then take a bath at the same time the baby was being washed. When the navelcord fell off, a messenger also informed the father, who might then eat meat from which he had abstained. The wife was obliged to continue her meat-fast for a month. For parturition two posts were set into the ground and a crossbar was arranged for the kneeling parturient to cling to; below her a pit is dug for the baby to drop into. The female attendant cuts the navelcord; the stump is buried in an ant hill while the mother expresses the hope that her child may be healthy and as industrious as the ants. If a woman were sick after her delivery, some other woman with a baby of her own of about the same age might nurse the infant; when the mother recovered she would pay a horse for this service. In the case of twins born one directly after the other no special usage seems to have obtained. But if considerable time

[1] Hopkins, 49 f.
[2] The Shasta also utilised the menstrual hut for this purpose. (Dixon, (b), 454.)

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000 elapsed before the second delivery care was taken lest the twins see each other. The older was taken away to die, but it was believed that the younger would then be able to live long because he had not seen the other.

NAMES.

A number of interesting variations may be noted with regard to customs connected with names. Among the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute personal names are meaningless. Very few of the Moapa Indians are namesakes for the usage is to make up a new name for every child born. Such names may be invented by the parents themselves or these may ask other people to name their children. The name would be kept ever after without change. The following are samples of women's names: Panán^{i}, Tüñgwí'^{i}, ^{Tso}'qwán^{ö}, Pawíarö', Mu'síriq, Tamáwör, Undúmban, Hík'a, Tamína, Hȫ'tön, Tunúq, Örip^{i}. I also secured a list of men's names: A'panàwö, Stígwit, Wambór^{i}, Töntsínuq, Wögöhuhuwíva^{Bi}, Suwín^{i}, Wínimeq, Píñq', Tsȫ^{ö}ts, Huwá', Pitcígant, Añgaú'qaits. When a person dies, his name is tabooed. His relatives would be angry if any one pronounced it.

With the Ute of Ignacio some names were meaningless, but not all. My informant Panayūs derived this name from another tribe, but his father had called him Tciicínutsits, which means "very hard" or "stout like a rock." Similarly George Bent's Indian appellation is Napá+u'tcáputs, i.e., "Wraps-his-foot," and my interpreter Tony was known as Kwíntcigit, "Left-hand." On the other hand, his mother's and his wife's name, Paqö's^{a} and Tatsiá, were said to be untranslatable, though other women bore names with definite meaning. The Southern Ute received their names several days after birth, generally from the father and sometimes from the mother. A mother might name a boy and the father a girl. When the child grew up and acted queerly, it would receive a nickname from its friends. If a person fell sick and recovered from being nearly dead, the doctor would say, "I'll give you a new name." He would call him "So-and-so," and then an announcement was made that the old name should be dropped.

To illustrate the giving of a nickname my informant told these anecdotes. Some years ago he went to Navaho Springs, where he lived with two friends. These saw some women in a menstrual lodge and asked Panayūs to accompany them and possibly get a sweetheart. Panayūs was wearing a brownish-green suit. When they got to the lodge, Panayūs did not dismount but asked, "Has one of you girls already made a bed for me?" They laughed without answering him. He repeated his ques-

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tion, dismounted, walked over, and stood near the fire. One of the girls asked, "Who is this?" The other replied, "I don't know. He looks like a person traveling round at night who cannot be seen in the daytime. He is Inũsakats." (a mythical invisible being, whose voice, however, can be heard). Then all the others called Panayũs by this nickname and t clung to him for a long time. Another man acquired the same sobriquet. Though married, he would visit another woman, slinking home before daylight every night. The young woman's mother heard her talk

Fig. 35 (50.1–8582). Moapa Cup and Ball Game, Model; Cottontail Skull.

Fig 36 (50.1–8637). Shivwits Bull Roarer Model.

at night and thought she was going to get married, but not seeing her lover she said. "I think you are running round with Inũsakats," whence the nickname. Another appellation of similar type was given to Panayũs while he was watching his brother dance. His brother said, "Say 'Siwâtanu^{a}' (a Cheyenne word) and we'll repeat the song." Panayũs said, "Siwâtanu^{a}" and was nicknamed accordingly.

When a person died his name was not pronounced in his relatives' presence.

The Uintah Ute name a child when it is about a year old. Apparently all their names had some meaning. Eva Attwine's son is called A'pãtsig'â, Little-boy, and he will keep this appellation even when adult. Eva herself is called Tsà'yowats, Wrinkled-face, because as an infant she had a wrinkled face. One woman was named Pãmânts, Water+?; another Tõ'ni^{bw}, Chubby, because when little she was chubby and short; a third, Qorũmp, Smells-of-urine." The nickname character of nearly all these designations is manifest.

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551 According to Sarah Winnemucca the Paviotso named the majority of their girls after flowers, others after rocks; boys were designated according to some chance observation they made in infancy. If they particularly noted the flight of a bird or the passing of an animal or a sister's black eyes, they were named after the objects in question.[1] My Paviotso informant said that some but not all girls were named for flowers. Usually a child received a nickname, which developed into a permanent designation. Bob Carson, now called Oite', Left-handed, was originally known as Nū'ɒnats, Snow-on-him, from nū'ɒni, snow, and nats, boy. Later because he always wore clothes of canvas he was named Toxákus, from toxá, white, +?.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni parents or some of their friends gave names to children, sometimes according to what the children do when old enough to laugh. These real names are not altered in later life, but nicknames may be acquired and used so constantly that those ignorant of the circumstances mistake them for the real names. Wilson was called the Crier because he once mimicked some crying women and children.[2] There is no objection to mentioning deceased persons, but a distinctive suffix, *hap*, meaning "the late" is appended, e.g., Tíndoi-hap, Carrot-leaf, Drowning, Elk-twins, are illustrations of women's names. The Wind River Shoshoni do not like to tell their names; a man rarely does so—more readily if alone than in the presence of other tribesmen.—a woman never. If other Shoshoni are present, one of them may, however, pronounce his name. This reticence with regard to one's own name is found also among the Lemhi, and though I can find no specific note for the other groups mentioned above I think it is probably a deep-rooted and widespread Shoshonean feature.

MENSTRUATION.

According to a Mosapa Paiute, his tribe never had a menstrual lodge, but the Shivwits say that during the period of illness a woman would sleep some distance from her husband. At the first menses a Shivwits girl would abstain from eating meat for a whole month because it had a disagreeable odor for one in this condition. However, this rule is no longer maintained. On later occasions the women merely abstained during the menstrual period.

The Southern Ute had very definite rules. A girl would announce her first menses to her mother, who then led her out and made her run

[1] Hopkins, 46 f.
[2] Wilson, 27

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back and forth like a horse in training. While she was trotting in this fashion, her mother gave her instructions about the menstrual lodge and its regulations. Then she would make a brush structure or "blood lodge" (*na'd'yan*) for her daughter. The next time the girl would know what to do. The brush lodge was erected about a quarter of a mile from home and a brush bed was prepared there. Sometimes several girls having their menses at the same time jointly constructed a larger shelter for themselves. During the three or four nights spent there meat was tabooed: a married woman's husband would have bad luck in the chase if she ate meat. It is worth noting that among the Northern Maidu a husband was debarred from hunting during his wife's illness.[1] Young Ute men were permitted to go to the blood lodge and make love to their sweethearts within, but they were warned not to attempt cohabitation lest they fall sick in later life, and girls were told by their mothers that carnal intercourse in the lodge would make them short-lived. Menstruating women were never allowed to attend a dance. At the time of my visit these rules were largely obsolete at Ignacio, while the Uintah declared that the menstrual lodge was still in vogue. These Northern Ute share with their Southern kinsmen the meat taboo and the courting custom. When a girl menstruated for the first time, an old woman made her take a bath and washed her thoroughly. She had to remain alone in a blood lodge for ten days, when she was again washed by the old woman. Thereafter her period of seclusion was shortened by a day every successive month until it was reduced to the normal span of three days.[2] Sometimes a small girl or boy would sleep in the shelter with a menstruating woman.

Both on the Pyramid Lake Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, my Paviotso informants denied the use of a special menstrual lodge, though they knew of its occurrence among the Shoshoni. This was confirmed at Lovelocks by Annie Lowry, who told me that even in her mother's day seclusion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among her people. However, at Pyramid Lake menstruating women were not supposed to enter the place where a sick person was staying and the meat taboo was enforced, the diet being largely confined to seeds. At Pyramid Lake Old Winnemucca said that during her first menses a girl had to carry sagebrush for firewood every day for five days and the neighbors would use the wood.[3] After the five days the girl took a sweatbath and cleansed her-

[1] Dixon, (a), 239.
[2] A gradual shortening of the period has been noted by Professor Kroeber among the Mohave.
[3] Cf. Dixon, (a), 236; *idem*., (b), 455.

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self. Here a new justification was given for the restricted diet of menstruating women, viz. that if they partook of antelope flesh the antelope impounded in a corral during the communal hunt would break down the enclosure and escape. It is hard to reconcile the mutually corroborative statements from three Paviotso settlements as to the lack of a menstrual hut with Mrs. Hopkins' specific data on her people's catamenial customs. According to her account a young woman who had reached puberty was under the special guardianship of her grandmother. She was secluded with two somewhat older friends in "a little wigwam . . . just big enough for the three" and had to go through a course of tasks for twenty-five days. Every day she was obliged to gather and pile up as high as possible five stacks of wood. At the end of every five-day period her attendants took her to a river to bathe. During the whole of the twenty-five days she abstained from flesh, while thereafter the fast was limited to five days every month. At the end of the period she returned home and gave all her clothing to her attendants. The entire ceremony was an announcement of her coming of age and any young man might then court her.[1] Possibly the Paviotso had a menstrual lodge only for the adolescent girls and did not require it in later life.

As indicated by the Paviotso statement cited, the menstrual lodge is a deep-rooted feature of Shoshoni life. The Lemhi I visited in 1906 still vigorously maintained the usage together with the meat taboo, which latter also extended to the period of childbirth.[2] The identical food restrictions were formerly imposed by the Wind River group. Here it was said the men were formerly afraid of dying if they stayed in the same lodge with a menstruating woman, hence mothers exhorted their daughters to report the signs of nubility. All the women of the family used the same menstrual hut with its special bedding and several women passing through the period simultaneously would occupy the lodge jointly. A man might speak to them from a distance but would never go quite close to the hut.

It is clear that a family likeness pervades the Shoshonean menstrual customs and that the abstention from flesh is the most persistent trait in the complex. This is a point of great comparative value, for this taboo seems to be practically always associated with the puberty usages of Californian tribes and extends, with the qualification that *fresh* meat or fish is forbidden, as far north as Tahltan territory.

The Ute notion of making an adolescent girl run up and down appears also among the Navajo.[3]

[1] Hopkins, 48.
[2] Lowie, 214.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 446.

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MARRIAGE.

Among the Shivwits Paiute a man would work for his parents-in-law, bringing them game. Both here and in the Moapa band some men had two wives but never more, and usually the women of a bigamous household were sisters, a man sometimes marrying his first wife's younger sister. The levirate is also common to both groups, indeed is still said to be practised by the Shivwits; with the Moapa it was especially an unmarried man that took to wife his brother's widow. Among the Shivwits I was told that cross-cousin marriages were not in vogue.

The Southern Ute who wished to marry would send a friend to propose for him to the girl's father. When the latter asked what he wanted, the go-between would say, "My friend sent me, he wishes to marry your daughter." If a clearly negative answer was given, the messenger at once returned. Otherwise he waited for the family council. The girl's wishes were consulted; parents might persuade but did not force her to marry against her will. On the next day the suitor himself went to the lodge and stayed over night; after several days he took his wife to his own house. Sometimes, especially in the case of youths, proposals were made to girls while they were in the menstrual lodge. It was not customary to marry first cousins; a man who transgressed the rule was compared to the mythical trickster. In case of a separation the man would keep the children if his wife was at fault and vice versa. An aggrieved husband might take away a war-bonnet or leggings from his wife's lover, but if he killed his rival's horses by way of punishment he thereby surrendered his marital rights to the culprit. If a man had an intrigue with another woman, his wife might summon her friends and they would jointly take away all the paramour's property, even stripping her of the clothes she wore, and the adulteress had no redress and made no objection. In such a case the husband usually came back to his wife, but not always. Sometimes a woman finding her husband return home from a visit to his mistress would ask him why he had not stayed with his sweetheart and would strike him on the shinbone.

The Uintah Ute assert that in former days girls never married when very young. The father-in-law would notice a young man who was a skilled hunter and bid his daughter marry him, knowing that his son-in-law would provide him with venison and skins for moccasins. It was customary for the young couple to stay with the bride's parents for a long time, then they would live with the husband's family; nowadays this custom is not followed and the couple settle wherever they please. Young men who were not good hunters and were not skilled in going for

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries. If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated. A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the girls generally to the mother.

591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother dis-
586 approved of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down."[1] The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's mem-
[587] ory. Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused
587 at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

[1] Hopkins, 43.
[2] Kroeber, (b), 361

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younger brother marrying the widow since the native term for the usage, 587
tönónaí[1] *qumádu*, was interpreted accordingly. If a woman ran away, 684
her husband might beat her or even kill her on the spot. At Lovelocks [593]
I was told that the Indians resent white interference in their matrimonial affairs: if a wife has been unfaithful, they think it quite proper for the husband to leave her regardless of whether there are children or any other circumstances that might weigh with white people.

Mrs. Hopkins confirms the statement of one of my informants that 582
a girl never married before her first menstrual period, the observances connected with which are described by her as a public declaration of nubility. Her account of courtship and marriage follows. The young 584
suitor never speaks to his intended or visits the family,

> but endeavors to attract her attention by showing his horsemanship, etc. As he knows that she sleeps next to her grandmother in the lodge, he enters in full dress after the family has retired for the night, and seats himself at her feet. If she is not awake, her grandmother wakes her. He does not speak to either young woman or grandmother, but when the young woman wishes him to go away, she rises and goes and lies down by the side of her mother. He then leaves as silently as he came in. This goes on sometimes for a year or longer, if the young woman has not made up her mind. She is never forced by her parents to marry against her wishes. When she knows her own mind, she makes a confidant of her grandmother, and then the young man is summoned by the father of the girl, who asks him in her presence, if he really loves his daughter, and reminds him, if he says he does, of all the duties of a husband. He then asks his daughter the same question, and sets before her minutely all her duties. And these duties are not slight. She is to dress the game, prepare the food, clean the buckskins, make his moccasins, dress his hair, bring all the wood,—in short, do all the household work. She promises to "be himself," and she fulfils her promise. Then he is invited to a feast and all his relatives with him. But after the betrothal, a teepee is erected for the presents that pour in from both sides.
>
> At the wedding feast, all the food is prepared in baskets. The young woman sits 585
> by the young man, and hands him the basket of food prepared for him with her own hands. He does not take it with his right hand; but seizes her wrist, and takes it with the left hand. This constitutes the marriage ceremony, and the father pronounces them man and wife. They go to a wigwam of their own, where they live till the first child is born. . . . When they are married they give away all the clothing they have ever worn, and dress themselves anew. The poor people have the same ceremonies, but do not make a feast of it, for want of means.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni, like several other of the Shoshonean tribes 000
here discussed, are of opinion that in ancient times girls were older than now when marrying, possibly seventeen or eighteen, while now they marry, they say, when mere children. It was admitted, however, that formerly some married before menstruation. Often a girl's parents

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[1] Hopkins, 48–49, 50.

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would take the initiative and send word to a desirable suitor, who would then come and stay with her some evening. In those days girls did not object to their parents' wishes, but nowadays they decline a lover whom they do not like,—which my old woman informant regarded as a bad way. However, she added that even formerly if a girl had a positive dislike for the suitor, he might notice it and refrain from claiming her. A brother, as well as a father, might force a husband upon a girl against her wishes. It also happened that a man proposed to the girl's parents. After repeated visits they would become husband and wife. The bridegroom gave no presents to his wife's parents but it was customary for the young couple to stay with them and the husband hunted for his parents-in-law. However, matrilocal residence was not universal. No form of cousin marriage was considered proper.[1] A good many men had two wives, a few three. In cases of polygamy each wife had a lodge of her own; if they were sisters or cousins they got along well, otherwise they were liable to quarrel. Sometimes a man kept one sister at her parents' home and lived with the other elsewhere; however a man who had married the eldest daughter had no right to interfere with her sisters' marrying other men. A man frequently married his deceased brother's or cousin's wife; the levirate was also mentioned for the particular case of a widower marrying his brother's widow. An unfaithful woman was formerly beaten and abused. The aggrieved husband might take the adulterer's best horse or kill it and either keep or divorce his wife at will. If he caught the intruder again, he would take another horse or get his friends together and attempt to thrash the culprit. Whichever was thrown down received a terrible kicking, then friends of both would rush in and start a general fracas. A man who knew of his wife's treachery might stick a medicine-arrow into the bed, which would cause the adulterers to cleave together like dogs having intercourse and they would not be able to get asunder. Then he could catch them together and the other people could see what they were doing. A woman who discovered her husband's disloyalty would set out with her friends to whip the mistress, at the same time warning her to keep away from the man.

The Comanche cut off an adulteress's nose.

DEATH.

At present the Moapa place a corpse into a coffin and bury it in the ground, but formerly two distinct methods were employed,—cremation or burial. Ā'panàwō said he had personally witnessed both. The corpse

[1] Only one informant thought it proper for a man to marry his father's sister's daughter, but not his father's brother's daughter. Others expressly denied any difference between parallel and cross-cousins as regards marriage.

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was removed by the usual exit and the house in which the deceased had died was burnt down to be superseded by a new lodge; but this custom has become obsolete and people no longer abandon their habitation after a death. Women used to cut their hair in mourning. People would come together to cremate the corpse, stay till it was consumed by the flames, cover the bones with some ashes, then go away. After returning from the ceremony or from three to four nights later they might have a singing performance, (*huwi'ab*), or the mourner might summon all the people three or four weeks later. Then several men and women would sing. This ceremony lasted from one to five nights. The last night they continued singing until morning. Sometimes the participants—mostly the young people present—danced the *nδ'qdp*^{i}. For interment a corpse was rolled up in a rabbitskin robe, put on the ground into a wash, and covered with rocks, the bigger ones on top to keep off coyotes. My interpreter drove me to two of these graves. One, said to be about thirty years old, was not very far from the main road on the Reservation in a sloping depression on a hillside, where a space of approximately seven by three feet was marked off by a pile of stones. The head, according to my guide, was always at the higher end of the grave. The second grave was of similar character, but situated at the foot of a hill on nearly, though not quite, level ground, a few feet from the road. At the higher end were the bones of a horse; my interpreter explained that horses were sometimes killed and given to the dead.

The Shivwits also mentioned two modes of disposing of the dead, though old Sally only referred to burial in the clefts of rocks. Buffalo Bill, however, said that the people would pile up cedar logs to a considerable height, place the corpse on top and burn it to ashes. The house of the deceased was also burnt down. The chief mourner arranges a weeping celebration (*ydzau"wias*^{i}), for which he and his family provide food. This ceremony came from California and reached the Moapa when my informant was young; much later it got to the Shivwits also. Formerly they merely had the weeping but now the Bear dance is also danced on such occasions. All wail aloud. When some one begins to sing, all present sympathize with the mourner, and if some one delivers a speech everyone weeps. Men and women are ranged in opposite rows. Usually the performance lasts two evenings; on the first they sing till midnight, on the second they continue till morning. About midnight a feast is spread.

The Southern Ute took the corpse away to the hills, where they buried it in the ground. All the relatives cut their hair for mourning

OOO Sometimes a widow would cut off her leggings and throw them into the fire. Husband or wife was expected to remain unmarried for a year after the spouse's death. A woman would burn up the whole lodge in which her husband had died with everything pertaining to it; a mourning husband also burnt up the lodge. If there were horses left, the deceased man's brothers would come, speak to the widow, and kill all except one gentle horse, which they left for her. Sometimes no horse was spared, at other times one would be saved for the father or a brother. The Uintah put their dead into ditches, covering up the corpses with dirt and rocks piled on them. Some mourners clipped their hair short.

To Mrs. John H. Molineux, for some years a teacher among the Uintah, I am indebted for the following account of a funeral at Whiterocks. James was the son of John Duncan, one of the chiefs. When it was known that he would probably die, he was placed in a tent near his father's wooden house. After his death the old women painted him and dressed him in his best clothes. Mrs. Molineux took the older school children there and all who were in any way connected fell on the bed, which was on the floor, and wept or howled one at a time and chanted alternately. The rest stood very still and looked on. Mrs. Molineux was permitted to have the Indian school children sing hymns and to take them to the burial on the following day. The site of the grave was in as remote and inaccessible a place as possible. The father had purchased a coffin at Vernal and the boy's horse, dogs, saddle, blankets, and other property were all assembled by the grave ready to be put in with him. The older people sat on the ground at the edge of the pit that had been dug, weeping and moaning. Charlie Mack, a chief, rose and delivered a speech, saying how good a boy James had been, how sorry all the Indians were for his parents, and that now he was going to the Great Spirit. Mrs. Molineux was next asked to speak and read the Episcopal service, with the children singing the chants and placing the earth on top of the coffin. Then David Van rose and said that James was a good boy and that the white people also liked and respected him, that the Sun too was sorry since he did not shine that day for it was dull and rainy. Then all the boy's property was put in and there was a debate as to killing the horse and dogs, but Mrs. Molineux dissuaded them from doing so on the ground of James's own preference. The Indians covered up the earth in a crude way, never expecting to visit the spot again. Mrs. Molineux adds that as late as 1912 babies were wrapped up with their dead mothers since the Indians thought there was no way of feeding a child except with the mother's milk.

764 At Pyramid Lake I was told that while the Pit River Indians (Achomawi) formerly cremated their dead and the Washo disposed of them "in any old way"[1] the Paviotso buried their dead in rocks, taking the corpses far off into the mountains. The body was wrapped up in a hide, dead women being buried in their buckskin dresses. The mourners cut off their hair, but did not lacerate themselves. Sometimes one of the deceased person's horses was killed. The following address was delivered to the dead: "Do not think of coming back, for you are going for good. Good-bye, you are going to a good place. Be good while you are there." This speech is very similar to that current among the Lemhi.[2] The Fallon Paviotso also denied the practice of laceration; relatives merely cut their hair and women still maintain the custom, furthermore they do not wash themselves, displaying disregard for their appearance for a while. The corpses were buried deep in the ground, so that coyotes could not get at them and if the dead person had a horse it was killed and his property was thrown into the pit. If he had no horse, some relative would supply property to be buried with him.

Sarah Hopkins partly corroborates and partly contradicts my own informants, the main discrepancy relating to the presence of laceration. When her grandfather died, all the people took the corpse into their arms, her father keeping it for two days. Then it was wrapped up in blankets and buried together with all his property, six horses being subsequently killed on the grave. "We never keep anything belonging to our de- 765 ceased friends," says this authority elsewhere, "because it makes us feel so badly, and when any of our family die, everything belonging to them is buried, and their horses are killed. When my poor mother was yet living every time we went near the place where my poor grandfather was buried she would weep." When her uncle died, the widow and also 765 Sarah's parents clipped their hair and cut long gashes in their arms and 302 legs, this ceremonial mourning being continued for several days. The (304) widow was first to cut off her hair, and then she braided it and put it across her husband's breast; next the dead man's mother and sisters, his father, brother and other relatives clipped their hair. A widower likewise cut his hair but was free to remarry, while the widow had to remain (587) unmarried till her hair had grown to its former length[3] and her face was not to be washed nor was she to use any paint or make merry with other

[1] Barrett, (b), 9, says that the Washo also practised cremation, though now they bury the body. According to Dixon, burial was the regular and cremation an occasional mode of disposal among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 217.

[2] Lowie, 215.

[3] A similar rule obtained among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 218.

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women until relieved of these restrictions by her father-in-law or mother-in-law. Sarah mentions signal-fires used to announce the death of a chief.[1]

A Wind River Indian who died was dressed up in his best clothing, painted, carried to the mountains, and deposited in a cleft or cave, which was blocked up lest the corpse be attacked by animals. This practice continued until recent times. Formerly the mourners would go off to one side and stay in a rude shelter. The women cut their hair short, gashed their legs, and removed their leggings for several days. When the hair had grown long again, the mourner returned home and the mourning period ceased. If a man died, one of his horses was taken to the grave and killed there so that his soul could ride away on it. Corpses were taken out by the door. If a person died in a house, the house was abandoned. A tipi was either buried with the owner or appropriated by a friend not related to the owner, for if a relative kept it he would die from the same cause. It was believed that if one member of a family died of some special cause, e.g., disease, the next would die for the same reason; for example, if one child was killed, all children would be killed. If a Shoshoni had been killed by the enemy, the people tried to recover his body; if they had slain an enemy, they would drag the corpse away and leave it exposed.

Wilson also describes cleft burial as the normal form. He speaks of a specific case in which a boy was mourned by the whole camp for five days. The corpse was put into a crevice together with bedding and various utensils, and three horses were killed and buried with the deceased.[2]

BERDACHES.

A Shivwits informant recollected hearing people speak of a man who never hunted and though not dressing like a woman acted like one and had a feminine voice. He would lead the women with a basket when they went seed-gathering and roasted seeds like them. He was married to two men, sleeping with each on alternate nights. In myths such persons are called *ma+āī'pots*.

Among the Southern Ute Panayūs remembered hearing his father tell of a berdache (*tuwásawits*), who owned a great many horses. Possibly as many as half a dozen boys would stay there and have him cook for them. One morning when the berdache rose early one of the boys was lying on the side as she was stirring the ashes and "she" touched his

[1] Hopkins, 21, 41, 66, 70, 120.
[2] Wilson, 85, 195.

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member with her feet. The boy got angry and kicked her, then she walked away and would not cook for them any more, so the other boys got angry at the one who had offended her. At Ouray my informant saw two berdaches himself, and my interpreter Tony recalled one he had seen there about eighteen years ago,—a tall stout man, also another one of short stature at Whiterocks. 000

The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake recalled a man who wore woman's dress, made basketwork and did laundry work. This was about twenty years ago (in 1914). Such men are called *t'ū ʙás, t'ūʙ̄áse moγó'ne* or (better), *tūʙázanân*[a]. 838

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

None of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes possessed a clan or gentile organization. 000

A strongly developed central authority was likewise lacking, but as might be expected from their Plains affiliations the Shoshoni had an institution for regulating the march and the communal hunt,—two societies the Yellow Noses and the Logs, who acted as policemen (*tíra-kȍne*). Their activities have already been described.[1] Wilson speaks of a war chief in addition to the camp chief and reproduces a picture of this functionary's lodge in 1861.[2]

The Shoshoni reflect Plains contact in other ways, perhaps most of all in the influence of war deeds on social prestige. The head chief (*tū̃'wute tẽgwani*) was a brave who had killed some enemies. According to one informant the chief long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick (*bándzugu wúkidūwi*), with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him down from his horse. Mȍpotsi is remembered as an important chief who held office for a long time; Washakie came at a later period, being contemporaneous with my informant's father. There was another position of distinction, that of herald, which likewise depended on a man's martial record. There might be three heralds at one time, in which case the one with the best voice would make the announcements. The chief would decide where buffalo were to be hunted and where the people were to camp. When the Bannock and Shoshoni traveled together, each tribe had a chief of its own, and the two jointly made these decisions, the Shoshoni chief taking the lead.[3] The title of chief was used somewhat vaguely for distinguished men, all of whom

[1] This series Vol. XI, 11, 813 et seq.
[2] Wilson, 70, 112 seq.
[3] This assertion must of course be taken with a grain of salt.

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were however subordinate to the camp chief, who always led against the enemy.

Wilson says that it was customary for the Shoshoni bands to come together every three years for a grand tribal meeting. He estimates his own band at 250 Indians, owning 400 horses and more than 500 dogs and living in sixty tipis. When traveling, they broke up into smaller groups to make better time and secure more advantageous pasturing.[1]

As among the Lemhi a murderer was dealt with by his victim's relatives or friends. One informant says they might kill him, another that they would merely kill his horses and destroy his property.

The Southern Ute said they had three chiefs and one or more heralds (*mi'arikàt tawáts, apáro' tawáts*) in the old times. Although my informants did not speak of a police force in connection with the communal hunt, the chiefs exerted a certain amount of authority at that time. When buffalo were hunted and were close by, two scouts were sent ahead and the chief would bid all men get ready on the following morning. All obeyed and acted properly, being afraid to run ahead because of the chief's orders. He would wait for laggards and called the names of all to make sure that none were missing. When all had assembled, the chief said, "When I give the alarm, all of you shall run over to the buffalo." When the signal was given, they ran for the buffalo herd.

A Uintah, Jim Duncan, said that long ago when he was a young man there was a great chief, Yellow-hair (Öáqar), after whose death the Ute split up into different bands. The Indians obeyed Yellow-hair, who would restrain his people from fighting other tribes. When a quarrel arose between individuals in camp, the other tribesmen made them stop. Little Jim spoke of a chief who would direct the people to have a Bear dance, who announced a deer hunt, or urged the Ute to put horses where they could get pasturage.

It is highly probable that the functions and powers of a Shoshonean chief were originally very meager. The Paiute had a head man for the rabbit hunt, but apart from that special occasion his authority was nil. All the Shivwits would unite in the winter time to form a single group but after hunting together for a while they split up again into distinct families, each of which had a property right in a spring of their own and the seeds growing round it. A Tö'+intesà+u informant said the people of his band used to have a chief who would announce in the morning what they were to do and they would obey him; when he died someone

[1] Wilson, 20, 28, 68.

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else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief. 000

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively. Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914), succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1] Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position. 624 224 223 [628]

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself. 622

At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief nor great chief has any salary.[2] [623]

Kinship Usages.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being 606 171 000

[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 84.
[3] Lowie, 211.

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000 regarded more or less like one's own mother. One informant said that formerly a man spoke with neither his wife's parents nor with her brother except through his wife, but the very inclusion of the latter relative renders the statement of doubtful value (see below), and as explained, the consensus of native opinion was clearly in the opposite direction. It may be noted that on the same Reservation there are also Arapaho Indians, whose observance of the taboo is a well-known fact, and possibly my informant's remark was in part due to this circumstance. In the beginning of married life the Wind River husband was looked upon as more or less of a hired man who was expected to perform odd jobs. Similar conditions prevailed among the Shivwits.

From all the available data I conclude that the mother-in-law taboo was not a feature of the ancient Shoshonean culture and that its occurrence among the Lemhi is merely due to probably Crow and Blackfoot contact.

I obtained no evidence of a joking-relationship in any of the tribes here specially considered, but a usage recorded among the Comanche will be noted presently.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni brothers-in-law are especially friendly. This also applies to the Comanche, in which tribe the brothers-in-law play jokes on each other and have a peculiar privilege in cases of adultery, as illustrated by a personal experience of Mr. Hope M. Fullbright, who grew up among the Comanche. An Indian had been guilty of adultery and his brother-in-law confiscated his horse, one of his hogs and some other property (all comprised under the term *nánawδkip*), and gave all to the aggrieved husband. However, such property was regarded as undesirable and the new owner at once disposed of the horse and hog, selling the former to Mr. Fullbright for $5 and the latter for $2 (one-fifth of its real value). Mr. Fullbright saw no reason why he should not ride the newly bought horse, but found that all the Indians looked down upon him for doing so; accordingly he exchanged it for a horse belonging to another white man. Against this no objection was raised. The Comanche treated a brother's wife and a wife's sister with familiarity and called them by the same term as their real wives.

603 593 736 A Pyramid Lake Paviotso told me that in his tribe an orphaned child was usually taken care of by the maternal grandmother. At Lovelocks I was informed that a Paviotso woman would never walk with any man but her husband.

Terms of Relationship.

Two rather imperfect lists were obtained at Moapa and the Shivwits Reservation respectively, but taken with Dr. Sapir's Kaibab material[1] they give some notion of Paiute kinship nomenclature. The differences between my own lists suggest real dialectic distinctions of a minor character. Gaps in the Shivwits data have been supplied by Sapir's Kaibab terms and are bracketed by way of distinction.

Moapa	*Shivwits*
mū'án^{i}, father	*mu+áB*^{i}
pi+énn^{i}, mother	*pi+áB*^{i}
tuwán^{ni}, son	*tu+áts*
pātsō'n^{ni}, daughter	*patcō'ts, pātcin*^{ni}
paBīin, elder brother, male cousin	*paBīin, paBītsn*[2]
tsa'qaiin, younger brother, male cousin	*tsa'qaiin*
naBávi+u, two brothers	
pátsin, elder sister, female cousin	*pātsin*^{ni}
namiin, younger sister, female cousin	[Kaibab: *namintsin*$^{'i}$]
qō'nún^{i}, father's father	*to'γón*^{ni}[3]
to'γón, mother's father	
qōnútsiñ, qunútsin son's child (m. sp.)	*to'γótsin*[4]
to'γótsin, daughter's child (m. sp.)	
uitsin, father's mother	[Kaibab: *qāxun*$^{'i}$ for either paternal or maternal grandmother and *qāxutsin*$^{'i}$, grandchild.]
u'tsitsin, mother's mother (?)[5]	
qagūtsin, daughter's child (w. sp.)	
hāīn^{ni}, father's brother, mother's sister's husband	[Kaibab has phonetic equivalents, but from the Shivwits I obtained only the terms *cūnán*^{ni}, *cūnátsin*, which see below.]
hāītsin, brother's child (m. sp.)	
qū'^{un}, father's brother (w. sp.)	[*qūtsin* in Shivwits = brother's son's child, *qū nútsin*, son's daughter. Kaibab approximations mean great-grandfather and great-grandchild.]
qū^{u}*tsin*, brother's daughter (m. sp.)	
pahān, father's sister, mother's brother's wife	*pā*^{a}*n*^{ni} (only first English meaning obtained)
pahāts, brother's child (w. sp.)	*pāatsin*
sūnán, mother's brother	*cūnán*^{ni}, also father's brother
	cūnátsin, sister's child (m. sp.) also brother's child (m. sp.)
qo'qóin, mother's brother	^{ax}*qoin*
qo'qóitsin, sister's son (m. sp.)	^{ax}*qoitsin*
āīBo(sn), sister's child (m. sp.), mother's brother	*āīBotsin*

[1] In Gifford, 245.
[2] My notes record *pā'tsin*, elder or younger brother (w. sp.); this is probably due to an error.
[3] Father's sister's husband was also given as a doubtful meaning.
[4] Sister's child (m. sp.) is given in my notes as a doubtful meaning.
[5] Analogy suggests rather the meaning of son's child (w. sp.).

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Mono	*Shivwits*
	ɑ̃ɳɑ̃dzin, father's brother's son
nämbion, mother's sister	**nämpian**
tsuk'dzi, mother's brother's son,[1] father's sister's son	
yüwin[?], wife	[Kaibab: **pi'ũwun**[?]]
qümün[?], husband	[Kaibab: **gom'un**[?]]
monötsin, daughter's husband (m. sp., w. sp.)	[Kaibab: **monotsin**[?]]
ɑ̃nämwun, brother-in-law (m. sp.) brother's wife (w. sp), husband's sister	**ɑ̃nämwun**, sister-in-law (w. sp.), **ɑ̃nämwũɴ**, brother-in-law
	tɑ̃ɴɑ̃ɴdiñ, brother-in-law (m. sp.)
	tɑ̃nɑ̃ɴɑ̃ɴdiñ, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)
w'ïmbion', son's wife (m. sp., w. sp.)	**w'ïmpiñ'**, mother's brother's wife
yo+ïtsin, parent-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)	
	naimpiwänni, wife's sister, brother's wife (m. sp.)
	naiñqumänni, sister's husband, husband's brother

At Ignacio and Navaho Springs I obtained the following Southern Ute data, which should be compared with Sapir's from the Uintah, as published by Gifford.

ɑ̃nɑ-mu, my father
ɑ̃nɑ-pi, my mother
ïũrdïsin, my son
burïsi, bɑ̃ɴdïsin, elder brother, parallel or cross-cousin (male)
tɑ̃qɑ̃dɑ, younger brother, parallel or cross-cousin (male)
bɑ̃dɑ'dïsin, elder sister, parallel or cross-cousin (female)
nɑ̃mïdɑ'sin, younger sister, parallel or cross-cousin (female)
dïsin, dïsi[?], father's younger brother, elder brother's child (m. sp.)
'qïïsin, father's elder brother, younger brother's child (m. sp.)
'ïwd'ïsin, azhurïsin, mother's elder brother[2]
sinddsin, mother's younger brother, sister's child (m. sp.)
bdïsin, father's sister, brother's child (w. sp.)
mdurïsin, mother's elder sister, younger sister's child (w. sp.)
nöpurd'sin, mother's younger sister, elder sister's child (w. sp.)
hönïsin, father's father, son's child (m. sp.)
tsyo'sin, mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.)
bubï dsin, mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.)
'ïïtsïsin, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)
durïsin, my great-grandfather, great-grandchild
piwïn, spouse

[1] I consider these meanings doubtful.
[2] Sapir's equivalent is rendered "younger sister's child, m. sp." and without the diminutive suffix "mother's elder brother."

yátsin, yáatsin, son's wife; husband's parent, husband's brother or sister, brother's wife (m. sp., w. sp.), husband's sibling's spouse 000

yayátsin, collective name for all of husband's relatives

tatáwarin, wife's brother or sister, wife's parent, wife's brother's wife, wife's sister's husband, sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.), daughter's husband, mother's sister's husband

tatáwariun, collective for wife's relatives

My Southern Ute material differs from Sapir's for the Northern Ute mainly in two respects. In the case of a single stem to designate two relatives of different generation my informants did not distinguish the junior member of the couple by a diminutive suffix but employed the diminutive form indifferently. Secondly, my two comprehensive terms of affinity are differently defined by Sapir.—*yaitcin*'[1] as spouse's parent, son's wife; *tantauarin*'[1] as wife's brother, sister's husband, m. sp. Among the Northern Ute I myself obtained the following renderings:—

*yā*ᵃ*tsin*, son's wife, brother's wife (m. sp.), husband's sibling, spouse's mother, mother's brother's wife;

*tantā*ᵃ*win*, father-in-law, father's sister's husband, brother-in-law, daughter's husband.

From the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Lovelocks, and Fallon the following list was secured, which tallies fairly well with that obtained by Kroeber from a Pyramid Lake informant[1]: 601 [114]

iná'ᵃ[2], father

pía, mother

dúa, son

bádó, pāró, daughter

bāzi'ⁱ, elder brother, male cousin[3]

baňá'ᵃ, younger brother, male cousin

amá', elder sister, female cousin

bōni'ⁱ, younger sister, female cousin

hai', *hē*'ⁱ, father's brother, stepfather, mother's sister's husband

pa'wá, father's sister

āts'ⁱ *ātsi*ⁱ, mother's brother, mother's cousin

pirú'ᵘ, mother's sister, stepmother

*hūza, h*ᵘ*ja*, brother's child (m. sp.), stepchild, wife's sister's child (m. sp.)

imidó', my sibling's child (w. sp.)

īnanák'ᵘᵃ, my sister's child (m. sp.)

qōnu'ᵘ, father's father, son's child (m. sp.)

hutsi'ⁱ, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)

iroyó', my mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.)

īmu'á, my mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.)

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[1] Kroeber, (b), 339 seq.

[2] The initial *i* is probably the first person pronoun, as it certainly is in such combinations as *idua, ibōni*'ⁱ, etc.

[3] No distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins.

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tɬóżi'ᵗ, tɬóżi'ᵗ, my greatgrandfather, greatgrandmother[1]
iǥóma, my husband, sister's husband
inórūk', inorɨǥʷᵉ, my wife
iɣàhi, my parent-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)
iroɣóna, my son-in-law
gönɬ́bia, ǥ̌ʼnupia, daughter-in-law
arádo+i, arádoi, brother-in-law (m. sp.), father's sister's husband
ininí'ᵗ, my sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother
usánapia, wife's sister or cousin
arádzi'pia, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)
na'ɬ́ɬ́k'o kʷᵉ, child's parents-in-law

Kroeber suggestively discusses the etymology and later extension of meaning of the terms *iroɣóna, gönɬ́bia, usánapia*, and *arádzi'pia*.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni, I recorded the following kinship terms:—

ápō, father, father's brother
pia, mother, mother's sister
nórɨa, my son (*undúa*, his son)
nópā'di, my daughter (*umpā'di*, his daughter)
nóòbi, my elder brother, male cousin,[2] wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's or brother's wife's husband
nɨ́ttɨmi, my younger brother, male cousin, wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's or brother's wife's husband
nóòdzi, my elder sister, female cousin, brother-in-law's wife
nónámi, my younger sister, female cousin, brother-in-law's wife
bába, father's sister, brother's child (w. sp.), spouse's mother, daughter's husband (w. sp.)
ára, mother's brother, sister's child (m. sp.), wife's father, son-in-law (m. and w. sp.[3])
kǯ̌'nu, father's father, son's child (m. sp.), husband's father
ǥágu, mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.), mother's mother's sister, mother-in-law
dɬ́ko, mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.), mother's father's brother, wife's father
hútsi, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)
gurǯ', wife, wife's sister, brother's wife
gucáhapō, husband, sister's husband, husband's brother
mɨ́napō, son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)
hútsámbia, daughter-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)
bahámbia, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)
nǯ̌'ri, husband's brother's wife
nárádz, my sister's husband (m. sp.), wife's brother

[1] Kroeber limits the term to mean father's father's mother and reciprocally son's son's child (w. sp.).
[2] No distinction is drawn between parallel and cross-cousins.
[3] Probably this is an error and should be limited to m. sp.; see above, *bába*.

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It is interesting to note that suggestions of classificatory terminology are most conspicuous at Wind River, as we should expect. The lack of distinctive cousin terms and still more so the use of reciprocal stems for the grandparental relationship are perhaps the outstanding features of our Plateau Shoshonean systems. The most interesting variations occur, as noted by Sapir, as regards the designation of the uncle-nephew categories. Thus, the Paiute and Ute are found to use reciprocal stems, while the Paviotso have correlative stems not etymologically connected (e.g., *hai'* and *hûza*, *âtsi'*, and *īnanák'*[wa]). 601 171

RELIGION.

Information on the personal aspect of Shoshonean religion is extremely sparse and the following notes are given mainly to stimulate further inquiry. 000

Among the Shivwits supernatural power did not come in solitary fasting but in dreams. Cūnáwaʙ[i] was prayed to for success in the chase, and after game had been killed some of the fat was thrown in all directions as an offering to him. Prayers were not addressed to Tūʙáts. The Moapa believe that Cotsípamâpōt never aged and never died. Cūnáwaʙ[i] and Tōʙáts also are still living and sometimes people say the dead go to them.

Women, as well as men, might be doctors. Moapa is the center of the earth.

The object of the Southern Ute Sun dance[1] was primarily the attainment of a shaman's powers, secondarily the cure of sick men. The leader was of course possessed of shamanistic powers. Sometimes as many as forty men participated in the ritual, but only a few of them attained their wish of becoming medicinemen. Some Ute would take part in four or five ceremonies before having their hopes fulfilled. When exhausted from fasting, a person would faint and then he might dream about eating and the Sun would tell him that he was to be a medicineman. After a while he would wake up and feel quite well.

It should be noted that the Sun dance is a very recent acquisition of the Ute. At Ígnacio I was told in 1912 that even the Utah branch of the tribe only got it from the Shoshoni about twenty-two years ago. Prior to that time the shaman (*pô'aγat*) apparently got his power in dreams without fasting. Some shamans were good (*áte-pô'aγat*), others bad (*ōwú-pô'aγat*). The latter were sorcerers who caused people to fall

[1] See this series, vol. 16, part 5.

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sick. Sometimes a good medicineman examining his patient at night, as was the custom, would say, "I have discovered that So-and-so is making him sick; I have tried my best, but the other medicineman is too strong." If several shamans corroborated this view, the Ute killed the sorcerer as soon as his supposed victim died. This idea of killing a bad medicineman seems to be very fundamental with the Ute. When I was at Ignacio, a shaman from Navajo Springs came driving up post-haste one evening seeking refuge from his neighbors. He had been doctoring a patient without success and was afraid of being killed. Sometimes a shaman will tell his patient: "You have dreamt about your mother, she wants to take you away with her." Then the sick person confirms the diagnosis, saying that he had dreamt of his mother, that she had tried to give him food but he had refused it. This dream is then taken as the cause of the sickness. Sometimes a practitioner sucks out of his patient's body some little worms or small objects, treated as the pathogenic agents, which he swallows, making a gargling noise and singing. Several others may assist in the singing.

Panayŭs told me of a Comanche boy raised among the Ute who developed into a great shaman with a reputation that bullets could not harm him. He received his powers from an old Ouray Ute chief who had this gift of invulnerability. One spring the people were camping by a mesa near the site of Ignacio. The Comanche shaman would doctor sick people, but there was always the discharge of guns accompanying the treatment since the medicineman had other men shoot at him. Panayŭs had always been skeptical of the man's powers. On this occasion the medicineman rose early and said to my informant, "Friend, you have never believed me. When the sun shall rise, I will give you an exhibition, then you'll believe." When the sun was nearly up Panayŭs's son was still asleep. The Comanche said, "Wake up the boy and bid him stand in the door. Put him behind the door, standing toward the sun." Panayŭs was a policeman and had a revolver with all its chambers loaded. The shaman asked for it, whistled a tune, snapped the cock, walked toward the boy and then round the fireplace, then cocked the gun and shot at the boy. The boy was scared but not hurt; in the door no bullet hole was to be seen. "Do you believe me now? I'll show you again." He asked for a blanket and let the boy lead him. The informant's mother was cooking while his father was outside and also saw it. The shaman covered himself with the blanket and stretched it out, led by the boy. Panayŭs shot him between the shoulders. There was a little ripple on the blanket but no hole. He shot again with the same result. Close

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by the door, only a few feet away, he shot again: there were marks on the blanket but no hole. Then Panayŭs believed in the shaman's power. "Now you have faith in me. I have given you proof. If you or your boy should wish to become a shaman, I'll give you some of my power and you will be able to do the same." But Panayŭs declined. Shamans who were bullet-proof were called *tŏpŏ'ye pŏ'aγat*. In this connection it is interesting to recall the supposedly bullet-proof Bannock chief mentioned by Bonneville.[1]

A few random Ute notions may be enumerated here. These people were afraid of the rainbow (*pároγauŕnitikŭ*). They would say: "Someone lost his knife and it is underground. Where the rainbow touches the ground, there is the knife. Don't point your finger towards it or the rainbow will cut off your finger." The lips also must not be used in pointing at it. Mrs. Molineux reports a comparable superstition against turning round and walking backward, lest a relative (particularly an aunt) fall sick. Once my informant took some Uintah girls on a walk. Daphne Ice turned round to see those who were in the rear, but was sharply pulled back by a companion, who gave the reason mentioned.

As a protection against lightning the Southern Ute put a kind of hard wood, *tŏndpu'*, into the tipi, for they said it was never struck, the lightning being afraid of it.

The Southern Ute believed in a world underground and another in the sky. If a conflagration came it would be due to Cŭnŭwav', the mythical hero, who might save the people by lifting them to the sky or dropping them below. Some think the sky is supported by one big cottonwood tree in the west and another in the east; if either gets rotten, it may break and the sky then would fall down, killing everybody. The horses of a dead person were always killed. All the persons killed on the warpath live separately from those who die a natural death.

At Ignacio twins were said to be due to a man's continuing to hold intercourse after pregnancy.

Tony Buck told me that when a person sneezes a little stick is bent at right angles and thrown up into the air to determine the direction where someone is talking about (or to?) the sneezer. The short branch indicates the direction. My informant said that this custom is shared by the Arapaho. The Moapa say that when a person sneezes (*ha+úsip'*), he says, "Some one is thinking of me in some other country."

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[1] Lowie, 234.

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000 At Navaho Springs rabbit's feet with beads are said to be worn as charms, but the trader thought the idea had been stimulated by whites.

According to Annie Lowry, the Paviotso shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son, as in the case of Coffee Charlie. The medicineman's soul leaves him when he doctors and goes into a trance, but the patient's soul remains in his body. The shaman's soul goes to the place of the spirits in order to get their aid. A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision. The paraphernalia of shamans differ,—some have an eagle tail, others a magpie tail, etc. The shamans also use a rattle.

Coffee Charlie was once doctoring his own boy, four years old, who was very sick and had been given up. The boy suddenly said, "Do you see a little bird on my head?" Coffee Charlie told him there was nothing there, but the boy insisted that a bird was there, chirping, and the bird was saying to him, "Little boy, you won't die, you will live." Coffee Charlie doctored him, and he lived. On another occasion Coffee Charlie doctored Annie Lowry's son, who had been given up by the white physician. Coffee Charlie used a stick about four feet long, carefully smoothed, and sprinkled with white clay, and with an eagle (?) feather at one end. This was set at the patient's head; the idea of the clay was that it would cause moisture all over the patient's body. The shaman went into a trance, then the boy was placed on him so that the pits of their stomachs were together, then the boy was taken away by his mother. Before this he shook his rattle; at first the sound seemed far away, but gradually it got closer and closer. The boy at first did not recognize his mother, but did a little later. He recovered.

755 756 [683] Mack Winnemucca said that the Paviotso killed sorcerers (*stai*^{yu} *puhá γa*^{iyu}) who caused people's death. When a person "died," i.e., was very sick, the shaman would lie beside him and also "die" for several hours in order to bring him back. On the return trip, they heard talking about mountains. When the patient came to, his parents talked to him, asking whether he was well now, whether he wished for a drink of water, etc. They would give him water. The other Indians sat around both the patient and the doctor. At times it was necessary to keep up the treatment for three or four nights. Sometimes the doctor's spirit coming back unsuccessful was heard crying. During the doctoring the shaman did not move but lay stiff as a board till his return. This procedure is called *mugwāmanáq*^{i}, a word doubtless connected with *nō̄'mō mūgua*, human soul or spirit. A person who dies goes across a big body of water

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far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking, the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
>
> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
>
> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
>
> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.
[2] *Ibid.*, 12, 47, 48, 80, 87.

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obtained through dreams. Long ago the Shoshoni would go to the hills or rocks in the mountains where there was "a kind of writing." There they would sleep for from one to three nights in quest of a dream, but without fasting; in the morning they went back home. Some animal or person might appear to the would-be visionary and tell him he was to be a physician. Not all the shamans used the same form of treatment, but all sang some songs. They made different marks near the fireplace and perhaps stuck a feather up by the mark. The shaman (*púhagant*) would place a feather on the affected part of the sufferer's body and suck at the other end, then blow away or vomit the disease. Only the doctor himself saw what he vomited. If a shaman cures his patient, he gets $5 or possibly a horse. Once a white man cured by an Indian doctor gave him $20 or $25. If there is no cure, there is no fee. My informant had never heard of evil shamans trying to kill personal enemies. The shaman administers no drugs, though all Indians have knowledge of certain medicinal roots or weeds, which is not acquired through dreams. Nowadays medicinemen get power by dreaming while at home. One informant had heard of a shaman who doctored gonorrhoea, like Tumodzo of the Lemhi,[1] by suction; this probably made him bald-headed. His treatment was based on dreams and he never used roots.

Some people claimed to receive power from dwarfs called *nū'nūmbi*, who are described as only from two and a half to three feet in height but with big muscles. This would fit the dwarfs of Crow mythology, but these are uniformly benevolent, while the *nū'nūmbi* are regarded as generally of evil disposition, killing people with bow and arrows so that the Shoshoni are still afraid of them. They are always naked.

The Wind River Indians owned medicine bundles, especially for war-like purposes. These were composed of bear claws, otterskins, etc. Most of them contained eagle feathers as part of the sacred aggregate. The bundles were generally kept on a tripod behind the tipi, being only taken inside when it rained.

When one informant was a boy he heard that there was one part in the human being called *mūgua* different from the body and surviving it. Though this idea was said to have been derived from Mormon teaching, the concept and term were obtained among the Lemhi[2] and its occurrence among the Paviotso in practically the same form establishes its antiquity.

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[1] Lowie, 228.
[2] Lowie, 226.

Wâwanabĭdi mentioned a hunting medicine carried with arrows. ○○○ When a hunter finds fresh elk tracks he puts it into the tracks and says to it, "Do you overtake that elk where he lies down. When you are there he'll get uneasy and begin to come back, back-tracking himself." This medicine, called *tŏyandtowoxa*, grows only high up in the mountains and has a pretty, pink flower; it is chief of all medicines. Only a small piece of it is broken off at one time. The elk soon returns, the hunter merely having to sit down and wait for it. Wâwanabĭdi was skeptical at one time and made a test once when tracking deer. He talked to the medicine in the fashion described. Soon two deer came along, one after another, and he shot and killed both. He went to a spring for a drink, saw elk tracks and put some medicine into the tracks. After a while he saw an elk approach and shot him. This happened only about fifteen years ago (1912). With red paint the same medicine was rubbed on the body and back of the head in war time, and the following prayer was addressed to it, "If the enemy comes, give me power so that even if he aims at me and pulls the trigger, the trigger will not work and he will not hit me." When enemies were stealing horses this medicine put on the track caused the horses to become exhausted. Once my informant's father-in-law escaped through this root when all the other Shoshoni were killed. Any one might use it, but it was rare because it was hard to get it. Sometimes the seeds were mashed and rubbed on the neck when children had a sore throat.

A little girl came to Wâwanabĭdi's lodge wearing, probably as a charm, a sausage-shaped buckskin necklace stuffed with pine-needles (*woñgo gwăna*), an infusion of which is used to cure bad colds.

When a Shoshoni sneezes, the people say that some girl is making a remark about him and wishing that the sneezer were with her.

Wolf and Coyote are not prayed to by the Wind River people, so far as Wâwanabĭdi knows.

When people whistled through rushes, they caused clouds and rain to come.[1]

A whirlwind is considered a ghost (*dzŏap*). When a person dies, a whirlwind is caused thereby.

Once Wâwanabĭdi was fishing at Jackson's creek when he heard a baby crying, but paid no particular attention. Suddenly he came upon it. It was a *pâona*,[2] which looked like a baby with yellow body, but it had big arms and hands and long curly hair. My informant was frightened,

[1] Lowie, 232.
[2] Cf. ibid, 234.

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but it suddenly dived into the water and was seen no more, though the sound it made was heard all night until morning.

Wâwanabĭdi had never seen a water-buffalo but had heard other Indians describe it. It resembles a buffalo, but its horns are somewhat different. An Indian now dead told my informant he had once seen a pretty woman with long hair on the ice covering Bull Lake; as he came close, she suddenly went under the water.

Wâwanabĭdi, when a child, was terribly afraid of the ogre known as Dzŏaxits, who plays a part in Shoshoni folklore. After hearing a tale about him he would be afraid to go out in the dark. A water variety of this monster, Pán-dzŏaxits, was used as a bugbear to terrify children; he was said to carry children in a big bag.

When buffalo were scarce, the Shoshoni would cut out the sinew of one buffalo they had killed, blacken their fingers with charcoal and dot the sinew black with them. Then they placed the sinew on the ground and built a fire over it, causing it to draw up so that the ends would come together, when they removed it. This symbolized the coming together of buffalo from opposite directions, and a few days later they expected to find buffalo.

The Paviotso have a curious belief that the horned-toad speaks the Paviotso language and is able to kill a rattlesnake and Annie Lowry even declared that she had seen a contest specially arranged for the benefit of skeptical whites in which the toad worsted the snake. This notion is shared by the Ute. On the Uintah Reservation I was told that sometimes a rattlesnake would find a young horned-toad (*tsinqâmqatsits*) and kill it, then its mother would get furious and kill the snake.

When there was measles or smallpox in a Shoshoni camp, the doctor would give a dance in which both men and women participated, shaking dewclaw rattles known as *tŏcitŏmp*. The dance was called Horn Dance (*ăp nŏqŏra*). It lasted for two or three days and was limited to the period of an epidemic.

CEREMONIES AND DANCES.

Both in number and complexity of ceremonials the Plateau Shoshoneans are noticeably inferior to the Plains and Pueblo Indians, and even of the slender stock of performances known to them in modern times some are demonstrably due to recent borrowing. This applies to the Sun dance of the Ute and Wind River Shoshoni, which has been dealt with in a separate publication and to the wailing ceremony of the Southern Paiute, already mentioned (p. 279).

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The Bear dance (*mamáqqmip*) of the Southern Paiute has also been recently borrowed, but in this case the origin of the performance may certainly be ascribed to a fellow-Shoshonean group, the Ute, whose Bear dance has been dealt with in a previous publication.[1] The Ute ceremony (*mamáqunikap'i*) is performed early in the spring in a circular enclosure. Its origin is derived from a bear and the alleged object is to conciliate the bear species. Both men and women participate, facing each other, and dance to the accompaniment of music produced by scraping a notched stick until in the last night's activities one dancer falls to the ground from real or feigned exhaustion. According to my Moapa interpreter, this dance had been adopted by his people only three or four years before my visit from the St. George Indians (Shivwits); these in turn informed me that they had quite recently borrowed it from the Uintah Ute. I witnessed part of a dance held at Moapa by the resident Indians and a group of Shivwits visitors. My observations follow.

Arriving on August 24, 1915, I was informed that the Indians had been holding a "pow-wow" that was expected to terminate that night, which however proved not to be the case. After driving to the site, I found that the dance was not held in an enclosure, but in an open space along the road, bounded only unilaterally by the fences enclosing the Indian lands and rendered shady on one side by a clump of cottonwoods. Within the site there were several groups of Indians, men and women, most of whom paid very little attention to the dance, being absorbed in card-playing. None of the old people participated; the majority were or seemed to be very young and the oldest could at best be classed as middle-aged. There were several musicians, at one time as many as five. These were seated round a tin wash-tub inverted over a pit; another pit a few feet away had been used yesterday. The pit was very shallow, probably not over 6 inches deep and about 16 inches in diameter. The musicians all used crudely notched sticks of obviously recent manufacture, rasping them with shorter sticks, of which only one was seen that corresponded to the cylindrical Ute scraper. One end of the notched instrument rested on the tub. The rasping was accompanied with singing and accelerated at the end of each song. The instrument, like the ceremony itself, was said to be of recent origin.

The women invited men to become their partners by tapping them on the shoulder with the hand or a stick; the men generally made a pretense of coyness. At first each couple, partners facing each other, danced several steps without joining. Later they took hold in several

[1] Vol. XI of this series, 622–631.

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distinct fashions. One way, observed several times, was for the girl to place her right hand on the left side of her partner's waist, while he put his right hand on her left or right shoulder. In some instances he put his arm on her waist. Several times one man danced with two girls: such a one might place his left hand on the right shoulder of the girl to his left, and his right hand on the left shoulder of the girl to his right. Some of the women placed their right hand on one of the partner's shoulders. The step was a "one-step,"—usually six steps backward and six forward, and this figure was continued throughout the dance. Some couples showed a much greater tendency to hopping than others. No native costume of any kind was worn by either sex.

On August 25 I arrived at the dance site at 9.20 a.m. and found the Indians camped very much as on the previous day, with several groups playing a Mexican card game. This morning several girls and small boys began to make music and the most striking peculiarity was that boys asked girls to become their partners in the earlier part of the forenoon's entertainment. Thus it happened in one or two cases that one girl came to dance with two boys or men. In scraping the stick some musicians moved the rasp away from, others towards themselves. The method of holding partners was again seen to vary widely. One standard way was for the girl to place her right hand on the man's waist or left hip, while he put his right hand on her left shoulder; her left hand might then be placed on his right arm or elbow. After a while the girls reasserted their privilege to choose partners. This was done either by tapping them as before or by throwing a little stick at them. While the girls were making music, one of the boys chose his partner by gently kicking one of the musicians. In one of the dances a girl threw her partner down, which put a stop to that dance. A middle-aged woman, assisted by a man, dragged one reluctant girl to the site and made her dance. She seemed eager to get people to take part. According to Mr. Hess, the Government teacher, she was a medicine-woman, while an Indian said she was "boss of the dance."

At about 11.20 another mode of dancing was noted. Instead of facing each other, partners now stood beside each other, the man's hand resting on the woman's shoulder. The step was the same as before. This figure was, however, very soon replaced by the customary one. At 11.26 the dancing ceased and the Indians had their midday meal, which had been prepared outdoors, firewood having been piled high on one side of the road. At 12.40 several men and boys began to scrape the stick again and a quarter of an hour later three couples began to dance. Two men

armed with sticks dragged reluctant men into the dance and jabbed them in the back when from fatigue they did not swing properly but fell into a simple walk. At times there were as many as five couples dancing on each side of the centrally located musicians. At the beginning of a dance the girls, joining hands, generally stepped backwards and forwards in pairs, or even in quartets, before seeking partners. The women always faced the musicians. In the afternoon there were as many as fourteen or fifteen couples dancing simultaneously. Once I noted three couples joining for a dance.

On August 26 I arrived at the dance ground at about 9:30 a.m. and found several couples already in motion. I was told that during the night the Indians had revived an old Paiute dance, the *nō'qáp'*, for which see below. I was myself made to dance, first with two girls, later with one alone. A man armed with a whip made all the shy young men and women dance. This morning the musicians used a pit several feet away from that used the day before, possibly because it was in a shadier spot; it was the one I had observed as not in use on the day of my arrival. I contributed $2 to the Indians, who were getting up a feast.

The last dance in the forenoon began at about 11.20, and the musicians continued scraping much longer than ever before, with the obvious intention of exhausting the performers. After a while most (but not all) of the dancers changed their positions so that instead of partners facing they were alongside of each other, with the man's arm on the woman's shoulder. Thus they continued to dance with increasing fatigue till one stout young woman fell down, theoretically, I presume, from total exhaustion. Then the performance ceased at once.

While the people were eating, an old man from St. George rose to address the crowd, expressing the visitors' appreciation of the hospitality offered them and the mutual good-will obtaining between the Moapa and Shivwits Indians. He also stated that he wished to start homeward in the afternoon. Accordingly preparations for departure were made immediately after the feast and with many farewells the visitors, about twenty in number, departed.

While the formal dancing had apparently ceased with the morning's performance, several young men and women began to scrape the notched instrument at about 1.15 or 1.30 p.m., and then the dancing recommenced.

It was perfectly clear that the Bear dance as here performed was wholly lacking in esoteric or religious features and was a purely social affair.

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000 On January 6, 1872 Powell's party observed a Kaibab ceremony. The Indians, "had stripped a cedar tree of all branches but a small tuft at the top, and around this the whole band formed a large circle, dancing and singing. The dancing was the usual hippity-hop or "lope" sideways, each holding hands with his or her neighbor. In the center stood a man, seeming to be the custodian of songs and a poet himself; He would first recite the piece, and then all sing it, circling round at the same time." The white visitors were invited to participate and did so to the great amusement of the Paiute.[1]

The most important of the old dances was the *nō'qáp'*, known under this appellation to both the Moapa and Shivwits. A phonetic equivalent among the Lemhi seemed to be a generic term for "dance." In the Paiute *nōq'áp'* men and women formed a circle, neighbors interlocking fingers. One man sang and the performers moved round clockwise. Any one who chose might participate. Sometimes a woman would step between two men. The dance was held during any season of the year and in the night. One informant called it a "war dance." The participation of both sexes, the clockwise motion and the interlocking fingers all suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nûakin*.[2]

Another dance, the *mā+inōqop*, was under the direction of a master of ceremonies, who would send out messengers in different directions announcing that a performance was to be held in so many days. He would select men and women with a light dance step, and no one else was permitted to dance. There were from four to six men, who removed their clothes and were painted by the singers, and from two to three girls in the dance. The performers did not hold one another but jumped round a big fire, the dance being held in the night-time. The manager led in the singing.

The Ute dances have been sketched in a previous publication.[3] The Bear dance is easily the most important among them and doubtless spread from this tribe to other Shoshonean groups, such as the Lemhi.[4] Specific information about the others seems too sparse to permit a definite identification with performances of other peoples, but the frequent participation of both sexes in dancing may turn out to be a distinctive Shoshonean or Plateau or even Ultramontane feature.

534 796 While I obtained no evidence of any form of the Bear Dance among the Paviotso, the highly characteristic notched instrument appears there

[1] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[2] Lowie, 217.
[3] Vol. XI of this series, 823-834.
[4] Lowie, 219.

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in association with the ceremonial antelope hunt. It is interesting to note that the association of this stick with game-charming occurs among the Cheyenne and Arikara,[1] though the connecting links are not clear and the resemblance may turn out to lack significance. I will begin by quoting Sarah Hopkins.

My people capture antelopes by charming them, but only some of the people are charmers. My father was one of them, and once I went with him on an antelope hunt.

The antelopes move in herds in the winter, and as late in the spring as April. At this time there was said to be a large herd in a certain place, and my father told all his people to come together in ten days to go with him in his hunt. He told them to bring their wives with them, but no small children. When they came, at the end of ten days, he chose two men, who he said were to be his messengers to the antelopes. They were to have two large torches made of sagebrush bark, and after he had found a place for his camp, he marked out a circle around which the wigwams were to be placed, putting his own in the middle of the western side, and leaving an opening directly opposite in the middle of the eastern side, which was towards the antelopes.

The people who were with him in the camp then made another circle to the east of the one where their wigwams were, and made six mounds of sagebrush and stones on the sides of it, with a space of a hundred yards or more from one mound to the next one, but with no fence between the mounds. These mounds were made high, so that they could be seen from far off.

The women and boys and old men who were in the camp, and who were working on the mounds, were told to be very careful not to drop anything and not to stumble over a sagebrush root, or a stone, or anything, and not to have any accident, but to do everything perfectly and to keep thinking about the antelopes all the time, and not to let their thoughts go away to anything else. It took five days to charm the antelopes, and if anybody had an accident he must tell of it.

Every morning early, when the bright morning star could be seen, the people sat around the opening to the circle, with my father sitting in the middle of the opening, and my father lighted his pipe and passed it to his right, and the pipe went round the circle five times. And at night they did the same thing.

After they had smoked the pipe, my father took a kind of drum, which is used in this charming, and made music with it. This is the only kind of musical instrument which my people have, and it is only used for this antelope-charming. It is made of a hide of some large animal, stuffed with grass, so as to make it sound hollow, and then wound around tightly from one end to the other with a cord as large as my finger. One end of this instrument is large, and it tapers down to the other end, which is small, so that it makes a different sound on the different parts. My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound, that could be heard afar off, and he sang, and all his people sang with him.

After that the two men who were messengers went out to see the antelopes. They carried their torches in their right hands, and one of them carried a pipe in his left hand. They started from my father's wigwam and went straight across the camp to the opening; then they crossed, and one went around the second circle to the

[1] Vol. XI, this series, 673, 696.

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224 right and the other went to the left, till they met on the other side of the circle. Then they crossed again, and one went round the herd of antelopes one way and the other 796 went round the other way, but they did not let the antelopes see them. When they met on the other side of the herd of antelopes, they stopped and smoked the pipe, and then they crossed, and each man came back on the track of the other to the camp, and told my father what they saw and what the antelopes were doing.

This was done every day for five days, and after the first day all the men and women and boys followed the messengers, and went around the circle they were to enter. On the fifth day the antelopes were charmed, and the whole herd followed the tracks of my people and entered the circle where the mounds were, coming in at the entrance, bowing and tossing their heads, and looking sleepy and under a powerful spell. They ran round and round inside the circle just as if there was a fence all around it and they could not get out, and they stayed there until my people had killed every one. But if anybody had dropped anything, or had stumbled and had not told about it, then when the antelopes came to the place where he had done that, they threw off the spell and rushed wildly out of the circle at that place.

My brother can charm horses in the same way.[1]

A Pyramid Lake informant whose father had likewise been an antelope charmer differed from Sarah in setting the length of the entire hunt at three days, with the middle day specially devoted to the killing of the game. Early in the spring, when the ground was muddy and some one had seen a big herd, the Indians would gather together for the communal chase. One man acted as master of ceremonies and was called an Antelope man; apparently two or three others sharing this title acted as his assistants. These put on antelope heads and daubed themselves with war paint. They notched a stick, which was placed on a blanket and rasped as an accompaniment to the singing. A loud noise was produced. There was a big fire in the middle, round which the men danced. The women did not participate but were allowed to be present as spectators. The musicians were seated between the fire and the Antelope men, who were near the circumference of the circle.

224 Two scouts were sent out to watch all the movements of the antelope and returned at night to report their location. They would announce, "They are all there yet, they are not yet moving." The Antelope man would say, "We are sure the antelope are coming to our corral." They always told the truth and always killed plenty of antelope. In the center of a circular enclosure a big pile of sagebrush was heaped up, and from the sides of the gate two big diverging fences from three to four feet high were made of sagebrush, planted roots up, with the women camping along both wings. Some alert men on foot drove the game toward the structure and the sagebrush wings were set on fire while the central pile was left

[1] Hopkins, 55-57.

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undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone. 224

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:— 224 796 [539]

wázunaq	ína	hāūsa	wō'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?
hāūsa.	nō'mōnáqa	ína	hāūsa.	
?	Somebody's ear	?	?	

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained. [756] [787] [841] [857]

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*qamú nō'qa*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

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226 796 In May, when the *kuyúi* fish came up, the Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the *kuyúi*—*nō'ǫa*, for which there was also a special master of ceremonies. There was no structure for this any more than for the other Paviotso dances. "In five days," the conductor would say, "get ready." Then the people got ready, moved toward the appointed site and erected their wikiups there. They only danced in the night-time and for five nights. Men and women joined in a circle, the sexes alternating except in so far as young men having no female partner were ranged beside one another. The dancers interlocked fingers. There was no instrument, but one man sang. Meager as are these notes they suffice to suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nûakin*, which was also a spring festival held partly to ensure a plentiful supply of fish.

535 In the *tonú nō'ǫá* men and women went round fast, jumping up. This was the beginning of the dance and was enjoyed by the young people. Another name was *ahî nō'ǫa*, Love dance.

The *hî'nōǫá*^{wa} was described as more popular among the Walker River Paviotso and said to have come from Esmeralda County. Nowadays a nickel or a dime is given to some of the Indians to make them dance; formerly the presents consisted of fish or beads. The men pull off all their clothes, but their breechclouts. They did not hold one another's hands but went round like turkeys and would assume a squatting posture. There are only about ten men in the performance; sometimes about three women joined, these receiving gifts from members of their sex. At Fallon I was told that six men dance without clothes, stamping their feet, and receive a quarter from all the spectators. Three women back of the men merely shuffle their feet. This was said to be a dance of the Bannock (Kutcútiqa, Buffalo-eaters), though coming directly from Indians south of Walker River. I got the impression that this might be a form of the Grass dance.

The only other dances mentioned at Pyramid Lake were the *nōcába*, Circle dance, and a modern war dance the *pandk'iniq*, said to have been taught by Blackfoot visitors. The notched stick (*ná*+*idanâq*) so prominent in the antelope hunt was said not to be used for any of the dances.

At these dances men sometimes got fighting about a woman, then the strong men of the tribe got together and pulled the combatants apart.

At Fallon I heard of a "squaw dance" that was generally kept up for five days, sometimes longer.

[796] Sarah Hopkins describes a "festival of flowers" celebrated in the spring. The girls named for flowers would go to see whether their floral namesakes were in bloom and talk about them at home, saying, "Oh,

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I saw myself today in full bloom!" The girls were full of expectancy until some evening they would hear the chief announce that in five days the festival was to take place. Then on the day stated the flower girls danced along together, the other girls likewise forming a group of their own. The dance ground had been prepared by the girls' elders.

. . . Each one gathers the flower she is named for, and then all weave them into wreaths and crowns with scarfs, and dress up in them.

Some girls are named for rocks and are called rock-girls, and they find some pretty rocks which they carry; each one such a rock as she is named for, or whatever she is named for. If she cannot, she can take a branch of sagebrush, or a bunch of rye-grass, which have no flower.

They all go marching along, each girl in turn singing of herself; but she is not a girl any more.—she is a flower singing. She sings of herself, and her sweetheart, dancing along by her side, helps her sing the song she makes.

I will repeat what we say of ourselves. "I, Sarah Winnemucca, am a shell-flower, such as I wear on my dress. My name is Thocmetony. I am so beautiful! Who will come and dance with me while I am so beautiful? Oh, come and be happy with me! I shall be beautiful while the earth lasts. Somebody will always admire me; and who will come and be happy with me in the Spirit-land? I shall be beautiful forever there. Yes, I shall be more beautiful than my shell-flower, my Thocmetony! Then, come, oh come, and dance and be happy with me!" The young men sing with us as they dance beside us.

Our parents are waiting for us somewhere to welcome us home. And then we praise the sagebrush and the rye-grass that have no flower, and the pretty rocks that some are named for; and then we present our beautiful flowers to these companions who could carry none. And so all are happy; and that closes the beautiful day.[1]

The dances of the Wind River Shoshoni have already been sketched in another publication.[2]

Two Paviotso dances were enumerated with their games, but come more properly under this heading. In the *toвú nigàвa* ten women and men formed a ring, and moved round, holding one another's hands, jumping and stamping their feet. Each man stood between two women. They continued jumping as long as the singing lasted.

The *hî negâ вa* was a war dance. Six men did not move, but only stamped their feet alternately. Two women danced, moving from their positions.

SWEATBATH.

The Shivwits Paiute declare that the sweatbath does not represent a native custom of theirs but was only borrowed in recent times from the Walapai.

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[1] Hopkins, 47 f.
[2] Vol. XI, this series, 813–822.

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000 Among the Southern Ute I neither saw a sweatlodge nor obtained a detailed account of its use but secured the highly significant statement both at Navaho Springs and at Ignacio that the Ute never poured water on the rocks used to heat their sudatories. The importance of this feature is due to its rarity and its occurrence among the Navajo. Says Washington Matthews:

> While the Indians of the North, pour water on the hot stones and give a steam bath, the Navahoes simply place stones, heated in a fire outside, on the floor of the sweat-house, cover the entrance with blankets, and thus raise a high heat that produces violent perspiration.[1]

However, according to other observers

> water is at times sprinkled upon the stones after the entrance has been closed with a blanket by the last of the bathers.[2]

At all events, the Ute and Navajo analogy indicates transmission in either direction.

343 515 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake had the more usual method of pouring water on the hot rocks. Their sweatlodge (*tōpínaʙâgia*) was constructed of willow branches, and as many as four persons would go into it at a time. It was not resorted to in the summer on account of the heat, but only during the winter or cooler weather. These Paviotso did not plunge into a river after the sweating process, but the Fallon people said that they did go into cold water. I saw one sweatlodge frame, which was very small, though probably not lower than among the Crow, and thus giving the appearance of greater height. There was a single series of transverse withes. The rocks were not in the middle but all on one side; Joe Mandel, my interpreter, said this was because otherwise the inmates [782] would not have enough room. According to him, the sweating was accompanied with prayers to the Sun; nowadays only young men indulge [178] in the practice, the old people do not care for it. The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory "*naʙárinana.*" Here also the rocks were put on one 515 side of the lodge and water was poured on them. Women and men both 157 sweated themselves. It was considered good for rheumatism and also for other ailments.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni the practice had practically disappeared at the time of my visit: the only one who still sweated was an old part-Flathead carried on the Government roster as a Shoshoni. Formerly the Shoshoni went in partly to cleanse themselves, partly for curative reasons.[3] Into a round pit were placed hot rocks, and one man

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[1] Matthews, 227.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 342.
[3] The therapeutic use of the sudatory is reported by Wilson, 75.

would pray over the sick ones who had come in, saying, "I wish that I and my companions may feel well and have good luck." He poured water on the rocks till steam rose. When it got to be too hot, they raised the bottom of the coverings a little. The custom was called *nâskugariñgen*. 000

MISCELLANEOUS.

Paviotso.

The Paviotso never ate magpies, wolves, coyotes or skunks. Possibly they did eat them when starving. 262

In telling a story the raconteur expects the listeners to repeat verbatim every paragraph, this corresponding to the Crow custom of answering "Yes." A similar usage was observed by Mooney in his interview with the Paviotso prophet Wovoka:— 538

> Each statement by the older man was repeated at its close, word for word and sentence by sentence, by the other, with the same monotonous inflection. This done, the first speaker signified by a grunt that it had been correctly repeated, and then proceeded with the next statement, which was closely repeated in like manner.[1]

The Paviotso formerly brushed bedding with a swan's wing feathers; nowadays they brush stoves with them. 356

Formerly the cradle was not covered with canvas but the child was wrapped up and tied to the willow frame. 854

In the mountains there is a root which when boiled is drunk as a cure for venereal disease, also for a cold. A Fallon informant sold me two medicines. One was a root to be spread several times a day under a poultice on a sore knee. The other consisted of mashed leaves to be drunk for a cold or stomach ache. 757

Wind River.

The Wind River Shoshoni say that in the early days they had no parfleches. These only came in with the horse. Before that time there was no way of packing. 000

Medicine bundles were kept by the shamans on tripods.

It is said that the moon dies but comes to life again.

Mountain-sheep horn was split and used for cups. Some used only buffalo horn cups because it would be against their medicine to use anything else.

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[1] Mooney, 770 f.

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Horn is burnt and pulverized, then put on a sore or scummy eye. A mountain-sheep horn is used more than a buffalo's for this purpose. This recalls a Lemhi practice.[1]

I bought specimens of a number of medicines and obtained the following information as to their use.

After discarding the rind of the root of a weed called *to'dza*, the natives boil the shavings of the root and drink this infusion as a remedy for smallpox, the measles, and eruptive affections generally. When a person is ailing, a little piece of the root is sometimes smoked and placed under the patient's face. This makes his nose run and cleanses it. The same treatment is administered to sick horses.

A small piece of the *bûwŏ-inump* medicine is broken off, boiled and drunk as a tonic by a woman after delivery and also after leaving the confinement lodge. Though mostly a woman's medicine, this is taken by both sexes for rheumatism and numbness of limbs.

A tea is also prepared from the *tü'mbi* or *tü'mbai* medicine. This is a remedy for gonorrhoea. Chewed raw instead of boiled, it serves as a cure for toothache, coughing, and an itching throat.

If a man suffers from cramps and diarrhoea, he chews some *ko'hoi* medicine in raw form. Sometimes it is mashed and boiled into a tea. In this latter form it is administered to horses afflicted with diarrhoea.

Both sexes, but especially men, use *pûcăga* to recover strength when tired and drowsy. Though sometimes taken raw, it is usually boiled.

A plant bearing berries, which the Indians, however, do not eat, supplies the *ic'andônump* medicine, which is pounded up and spread on a swelling. Sometimes an infusion is drunk for the same purpose. Both because the plant grows plentifully about the reservation and because there are many cases of swelling, this remedy is used more commonly than other medicines at the present day.

For nose-bleeding *pîə nădcu* is pounded up, boiled, and drunk from time to time after cooling off. It was not snuffed into the nose. For headache the head was washed with this potion.

A person with fever sores, especially on the arms, applies the *kûnokip* root, pounded up and wetted with water. The same medicine is used for wounds. One of the roots, strung together in the sample secured would suffice for one application.

A very scarce medicine (*ɯo'ñgo-gwûna*) was obtained by boiling the needles of a small pine species growing on river banks. This was used a

[1] Lowie, 227.

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good deal for bad colds. The Shoshoni both drank the infusion and also smoked themselves with the needles. The latter method was used when this medicine was mixed with the *to'dza* root mentioned above.

Another rare medicine is called *ĕwuhigdre*. It is applied to wounds, but can also be drunk. The Ute used it a great deal. Pounded and rolled up with grass, it could revive an exhausted horse.

E. N. Wilson mentions the rubbing of skunk oil on the legs to make a wound heal; also in another connection, the preparation of a poultice from mashed weeds and the washing of the wound with an infusion of sage leaves.[1]

A Shoshoni is ashamed to pronounce his own name. This has no connection with the *Nūnūmbi* belief.[2]

Wawanabidi had an iron flute three feet long, with fur wrapping at the top for about eight inches and in the same place a hoop from five to six inches in diameter with a bunch of yellow-hammer feathers hanging from it. The flute was carried in horizontal position. Flutes are used for charming girls. Each flute has a slightly different sound and the girl would recognize the man blowing it and join him at night for a rendezvous. Once a woman heard a fine flute player, who was very ugly on account of a disfigured lip. She was charmed by his playing and joined him at night without knowing who he was until she discovered his identity, when she left him.

The following seasons are recognized:—

Late in fall—"Little month" (*tū've mō'ə*), when the ice begins to appear on the edges of creeks.

Big moon (*pīə mō'ə*), creeks are all frozen over, except the middle which might be open.

Cold month (*ō'djō mōə*,) creeks all frozen.

Pōsitc, thawing of ice and big snowflakes come down.

icarūə mō'ə, wolves are having their young and ice has gone from creeks.

mō'dzarūə, mountain sheep have their young and grass is beginning to come up.

bādzamak kimiə, water going down.

tōgwetāts, midsummer.

Paiute.

The Moapa put on face paint in the morning; *ūmp*^{i}, the red paint, is not found among them but in Shivwits territory; *turūz*^{i}, the black paint, is found about five or six miles from Moapa.

Stories were told in the winter at night, one story in one evening. Women only knew a few of the myths.

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[1] Wilson, 17, 99 f.
[2] See Lowie, 235.

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A'panàwō's second toe is markedly longer than his big toe. Several other individuals with this trait were noted among both Moapa and Shivwits.

The Man in the Moon is called *toγo'n*, maternal grandfather.

There is a dialectic variation between the speech of the Shivwits and Nevada Paiute, possibly mainly in vocabulary. Thus, *qūtc* is "cow" among the Shivwits, while the Las Vegas and Moapa say *wañqdsi*.

The Shivwits believe that Wolf is still living in the sky; about Coyote they do not know.

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